



Daily Report

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CONTENTS

12 July 1988

COMMUNIST RELATIONS

Warsaw Pact Ministers Meeting Summarized [PAP]	1
Maslyukov, Delegation Depart From Prague [PRAVDA 8 Jul]	1
CEMA's Sychev on Results of 44th Session	1
CEMA Executive, Planning Committees Meet [PRAVDA 8 Jul]	1
Banker Views CEMA Currency Convertibility [PAP]	2
Commentary Views Socialist Economic Relations [Levin]	2

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Thatcher's Defense of Airbus Downing Cited	4
'Secret' UK Intelligence on Gulf Incident [PRAVDA 11 Jul]	4
Iran Calls for UN Security Council Meeting	4
Weekly 'International Observers Roundtable' [Bovin, Shishlin, Levin]	4
Gorbachev Message Read to Alliance Congress	10
PRAVDA Carries Message [7 Jul]	10
Final Resolution Reported	10
Four-Party Negotiations on Angola Noted	11
De Clercq Discusses EEC-CEMA Relations [LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 6 Jul]	11
FRG-GDR Group Discusses European Security	12
New NATO Secretary General Profiled [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 6 Jul]	12
First Speech Assessed [Maslov]	13

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Reagan Decides on Compensation for Airbus Victims	14
Linked With Hostages [Pravdin]	14
'Short-sighted' U.S. Policy [Glazunov]	14
Arms Inspector Reviews Visit in U.S.	15
Akhromeyev Visit to Washington Reported	15
Meets With Reagan	15
Ends Visit, Speaks With Press	16
Issues Statement With Crowe	16

Northeast Asia

U.S. Navy Exercises in Sea of Japan [Vinogradov in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 7 Jul]	17
YOMIURI Interviews Gramov on Olympics [Seoul YONHAP]	17
Further On Kim Il-song's Khabarovsk Stopover [PRAVDA 6 Jul]	18
Japanese Socialist Leader Views USSR Ties [PRAVDA 4 Jul]	18
Rogachev Interviewed On Ties With Japan	19
Japan Increases Military Budget	20
Minister Seeks More Joint Ventures with Japan [KYODO]	21
Japan Develops Economic Ties with USSR, PRC	22

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Prince Norodom Sihanouk Resigns	22
Cambodian, SRV Foreign Ministers Meet	22
KPRP Plenary Meeting Reported	23
Gromyko Receives Lao Ambassador	23
Asia-Pacific Roundtable Conference Reported	23
Rogachev Receives Philippines Delegation 7 Jul	24

Gromyko Receives Philippines Senators [PRAVDA 5 Jul]	24
Soviet Delegation Arrives in Singapore	25
Kamentsev Ends Visit to Singapore	25

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Rebels Reportedly Intensify Activities	25
Rebels 'Review' Refugee Issue	25
Reject Cordovez Plan [Vavilov]	26
Afghan Army Successes Cited	26
Situation Aggravated	27
Ziaul Haq Assurances to Cordovez Doubted [Vavilov]	27
Pakistani Servicemen Reported in Afghan Combat	28
Afghan UN Envoy Protests Pakistani Violations	28
Afghan Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Coalition	29
Afghan Left Democratic Bloc Adopts Plan	29
Red Cross Official Reports on POW Meeting	29
Soviet Envoy to Kabul on POW's in Pakistan [Kabul BAKHTAR]	29
Indian President Visits Leningrad, Tashkent	30
Gromyko Hosts Dinner	30
Arrives in Leningrad 9 Jul	30
Arrives in Tashkent 10 Jul	30
Hails Soviet Reforms [Delhi]	31
India's Gandhi Sends Message to Moscow Fete	31
Soviet-Indian Trade Union Meeting Ends in Moscow [TRUD 7 Jul]	31

Sub-Saharan Africa

Shooting of Iranian Airliner Assessed [Tsirilov]	31
Foreign Ministry Official on Ethiopia, Somalia	32
Angolan Political-Military Situation Analyzed [Maksimov]	33
Angolan Official Interviewed on Namibia	33
Cuban Letter to UN on Angola, RSA	34
Supreme Soviet Cables RSA President	34
Moscow Radio Views Cairo, Stockholm Peace Talks	34

East Europe

Further Reportage on Gorbachev Visit to Poland	35
Moscow Statement Noted [Warsaw Television]	35
Remarks to Airport Crowd	36
Greeted in 'Hearty Manner'	36
Visits Warsaw Sites	37
Meets Varsovians, Jaruzelski [PRAVDA 12 Jul]	39
Addresses Sejm [PRAVDA 12 Jul]	40
Jaruzelski's Sejm Speech Cited	46
Meets With Sejm Leaders	47
Inspects Historical Documents	47
More on Visit to Sejm [PRAVDA 12 Jul]	47
Answers Journalists' Questions	48
Jaruzelski Hosts Dinner	48
Jaruzelski Toast Cited	48
Gorbachev Gives Dinner Speech [PRAVDA 12 Jul]	49
Leaves Warsaw for Krakow	51
Arrives In Krakow	51
Visits Krakow Lenin Museum	51
Shevardnadze, Poland's Olechowski Discuss Ties [PRAVDA 12 Jul]	51
Ryzhkov Interview With RUDE PRAVO Noted [PRAVDA 10 Jul]	52
Strougal, Ryzhkov Speak at 8 Jul Prague Dinner [PRAVDA 9 Jul]	53

West Europe

'Terrorist' Attack on Greek Cruise Ship Noted	57
Portugal Cancels U.S. Tracking Post Agreement [Konstantinov]	57
Belgian Parliament Debates Cruise Inspections	58
Dobrynin, Zagladin Meet Swiss Social Democrats [PRAVDA 6 Jul]	58
Khristoradnov Receives French Senators	58
Soviet-French Space Mission Plans Continue	59

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Further on Demonstrations, Unrest in Armenia	60
'Tension' Felt in Yerevan	60
'Majority' Back at Work [PRAVDA 12 Jul]	60
Central Committee Meets 11 Jul	60
TASS Cites 'Heated Discussion'	61
Armenian Citizens View Situation	61
Nagorno-Karabakh Soviet Meets [AFP]	62
Soviet Votes for Transfer [AFP]	62
Nagorno-Karabakh Events 'Controlled' [IZVESTIYA 12 Jul]	62
Nagorno-Karabakh To Receive Armenian Television	64
Ligachev Visits Moscow Art Exhibition	65
Shcherbitskiy Attends Scientific Conference	65
Dobrynin Addresses Students on Party Conference	65
Zaykov Speaks at Moscow Gorkom Meeting	65
Solovyev Addresses Leningrad Meeting 5 Jul [PRAVDA 6 Jul]	65
Slyunkov on Vyalyas as New Estonian Secretary [Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 17 Jun]	66
Slyunkov's Tallinn Arrival, Departure Reported [Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 17 Jun]	67
Leadership Sign Farm Worker's Obituary [SELSKAYA ZHIZN 3 Jul]	67
Gromyko, Others Sign Court Official's Obituary	67
PRAVDA Assesses Reform of Political System [7 Jul]	67
IZVESTIYA Editorial on Party Role in Reform [8 Jul]	69
MOSCOW NEWS Scores 'Harmful' Personality Cults [No 27]	71
Church Official Cited on Religious Reform Bill [Paris LE MONDE 3-4 Jul]	72
Economic Spies Sentenced for Passing Secrets	73
Publication of Novels To Be Expedited [IZVESTIYA 26 Jun]	74
Official on Arctic Affairs Panel Interviewed [IZVESTIYA 26 Jun]	75
MOSCOW NEWS Reports Woman's Self-Immolation [MOSCOW NEWS No 24]	75
Briefs	76
New Newspaper	76
Workers' Awards	76
Newspaper Titles Changed	76
Donetsk Airport Reconstruction	76

Warsaw Pact Ministers Meeting Summarized
LD0807202388 Warsaw PAP in English
1841 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, July 8: A session of the Committee of Defence Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty states was held here July 5-8. The debates were chaired by the Soviet defence minister.

The Committee of Defence Ministers examined military and political aspects of the development of the situation in Europe after the Washington and Moscow summits, and the state of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty states.

Participants in the session voiced their unanimous approval for the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the ongoing talks on the reduction of strategic offensive armaments by 50 per cent with adherence to the ABM Treaty in such a form as signed in 1972.

Participants in the session also voiced support for the Soviet initiative to withdraw the SS-22 missiles from the GDR and Czechoslovak territories and sized up the meeting of the Soviet and U.S. defence ministers as an expression of further positive changes in Soviet-U.S. relations. Other peace initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty states, aimed to consolidate confidence and to reduce the threat of war, are also of great significance.

Taking account of the military and political situation, the Committee of Defence Ministers defined directions of further upgrading of the United Armed Forces. The debaters stressed that the upgrading would be implemented considering the necessary self-sufficiency of weaponry and armed forces on the possibly lowest levels, further broadening of cooperation and brotherhood-in-arms of fraternal armies and maintaining high combat readiness of the troops to fulfill their duty—the defence of socialism.

Maslyukov, Delegation Depart From Prague
PM1007172588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Toward the Development of Cooperation"]

[Text] Prague, 7 Jul—On 7 July the Soviet delegation which took part in the 44th CEMA session sitting, comprising Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan; A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; B.I. Gostev, USSR minister of finance; and V.G. Kolesnikov, USSR minister of the electronics industry; left for home.

CEMA's Sychev on Results of 44th Session
LD1107224588 Moscow TASS in English 1857 GMT
11 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 11 TASS—The CMEA countries have been given a scientific long-range programme, platform of socialist economic integration comprising the beginning of the next millenium. CMEA Secretary Vyacheslav Sychev thus summed up in a conversation with a TASS correspondent, the collective concept of international socialist division of labour for 1991-2005 adopted at the 44th sitting of the CMEA session.

He said this most important document sets out strategic objectives for the development of mutual cooperation of the CMEA countries aimed above all at the acceleration of scientific and technological progress, deepening of the division of labour among the countries of the community, raising the material and cultural standards of their peoples. For instance, there will be broader mutual cooperation of the CMEA countries in the manufacture of industrial goods and food products. This complex of measures is necessary for the solution of social tasks in fraternal countries.

The concept indicates directions of the restructuring of the mechanism of economic interaction, the CMEA secretary said. These are the working out of a concerted economic policy, clear-cut coordination of plans which for the first time include enterprises and organisations, upgrading of the methods of pricing, widening of monetary functions of the transferable rouble, the use of national currencies to service direct ties, the strengthening of legal basis of cooperation.

The latest sitting of the CMEA session discussed numerous questions and adopted important decisions which will exert an effect on the development of cooperation. Vyacheslav Sychev emphasized particularly the following fact. Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia have confirmed the earlier achieved agreement on a gradual forming of conditions for a free transfer of goods. Services and other factors of production among them to form a joint market in perspective. It will not be an overstatement to say that this is the beginning to a historic process.

CEMA Executive, Planning Committees Meet
PM1007172988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "CEMA Organs' Sessions"]

[Text] Prague, 7 Jul—The 128th session of the CEMA Executive Committee was held here today.

CEMA countries' representatives on the CEMA Executive Committee took part in the session.

The session was opened by R. Rohlicek, CSSR representative on the Executive Committee. According to established procedure, he handed over the functions of chairman of the CEMA Executive Committee to A. Lukanov, Bulgarian representative on the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee examined questions linked with the organization of work to implement the resolutions adopted by the 44th council session sitting.

The work of the CEMA Executive Committee took place in an atmosphere of friendship and comradely cooperation.

The 42d session of the CEMA Committee on Cooperation in the Sphere of Planning Activity took place here today with the participation of CEMA representatives on the committee and the leaders of CEMA member-countries' central planning organs.

An SFRY representative took part in the session for familiarization purposes.

The session was chaired by S. Ovcharov, the Bulgarian representative on the CEMA Committee on Cooperation in the Sphere of Planned Activity.

The committee examined questions and adopted decisions to fulfill the resolutions adopted at the 44th council session sitting and at the 128th session of the CEMA Executive Committee on problems within its competence, above all on questions related to the implementation of the collective concept of the international socialist division of labor for the period 1991-2005, the special comprehensive programs for multifaceted cooperation between European CEMA member-countries and the SRV, Cuba, and Mongolia, and the coordination of economic plans for the period 1991-1995.

Banker Views CEMA Currency Convertibility
*LD0707222588 Warsaw PAP in English 1739 GMT
7 Jul 88*

[Text] Lodz, July 7—Representative of the USSR Bank of Foreign Economic Cooperation Sergey Fomin at the ongoing meeting of CMEA bankers here told PAP he was optimistic as to possible convertibility of the currencies of socialist states.

"Convertibility of our currencies is, in a sense, a fact. It concerns, however, only the non-commercial operations, tourist contacts for one. But the aim of today is the gradual implementation of convertibility of currencies in commercial operations, Fomin said.

"The USSR has already concluded interstate and inter-bank agreements with Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, concerning the settlement of accounts between enterprises in respective national currencies. I am positive that there are no essential obstacles against a similar

agreement between the USSR and Poland. Talks are being held on the subject and I think they will be completed in the not-too-distant future," he added.

Commentary Views Socialist Economic Relations
*LD0607225988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 6 Jul 88*

[From the "Interviews, Reportages, Correspondence" program introduced by Vladimir Pasko, with All-Union Radio commentator Viktor Levin]

[Text] [Pasko] You are probably already acquainted with the materials about the discussion between Comrade Gorbachev and Karoly Grosz and about the exchange of speeches at the luncheon given in honor of the general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of Hungarian Council of Ministers, which were published today. The Hungarian press devotes primary attention to these materials, too.

The visit of Comrade Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to Czechoslovakia is under way these days, too. The session of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance at the level of heads of governments is under way in Prague and the official visit of Comrade Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to Poland is due in the nearest future.

There is, of course, an element of coincidence in the fact that all these events, which are a matter of principle for the development of relations between socialist countries, are held immediately after the 19th all-union party conference. But the principled policy of the CPSU, which was given a fresh confirmation in the party conference resolution, manifests itself in the very policy aimed at developing these relations and at consolidating internationalist interaction between socialist states. I ask my colleague Viktor Levin to speak in greater detail about this principled policy.

[Levin] The key conception of restructuring, which has firmly entered our life, concerns not only the questions of domestic, but also of foreign policy. I think that this concerns in the first place the relations between socialist countries, too. Over recent years we have accumulated a considerable and positive stock of fraternal cooperation. But the negative elements in the development of the economy and also the ossified political structures have also shown in the relations between the countries of our community. The task is now being brought to the forefront to eliminate everything that is hampering our advance and to create optimal conditions for using—and we are convinced of this—the inexhaustible potential of the socialist system.

It is very important to define the foundation on which the relations between the socialist countries should be built. From our viewpoint this is equality and noninterference in each other's affairs, mutual assistance and

mutual advantage, independence, and joint responsibility for the historical fate of socialism. Precisely such an approach makes it possible to find solutions for any kind of problem that may arise in the relations between socialist countries, to take into account the national-specific nature of each of them, and to establish a sensible balance of the interests that cement these relations.

Let us be frank. Many of these concepts until recently seemed seditious to some, supposedly contradicting the principles of socialist internationalism. But the inability and perhaps even the unwillingness to understand the entire complexity of the rising problems and a striving to canonize certain dogmas were concealed behind these incantations. As a result of this, tension was developing and the foundations of cooperation were being destroyed. Having undertaken the historical mission of the revolutionary renewal of relations between the socialist countries. It is possible to say already that the political cooperation of socialist states has been elevated to a qualitatively new level over the last 3 years. Noticeable shifts have been achieved in the ideological sphere,

too. But if one is to speak about the economy, then unfortunately in this sphere the matter has not practically progressed any further than critical analysis and expression of good wishes.

Of course, such analysis itself and the intention to put things right are not of the lowest importance. However, it is absolutely obvious that this is not enough. A question about creation of a common socialist market is now arising with all poignancy. This is a very complicated task. It is necessary to overcome a lot of difficulties on the path leading to its solution. In order to do this it is necessary as a matter of fact to depart from the in-kind exchange of goods between the socialist states and to change in a radical way the financial basis of economic relations. In a word—many things are to be done. But if we do not do them, then the very foundation of economic cooperation between socialist states will be severely damaged, and this is fraught with the most serious dangers that are not only economic in nature.

In the socialist countries there exists the understanding of the problems and, it seems to me, there exist sufficiently clear conceptions about the ways of solving them.

Thatcher's Defense of Airbus Downing Cited
LD1107224088 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher has again defended the actions of the United States in the incident in the Persian Gulf. She was answering a question from a Radio Moscow reporter in a program on the Russian Service of the BBC. Mrs Thatcher reiterated her known view about the right of the American Navy to self-defense. She said the commander of the American cruiser which destroyed the Iranian airliner couldn't have jeopardized his ship and couldn't have known what plane was approaching the ship. The prime minister called for a thorough investigation of the incident.

'Secret' UK Intelligence on Gulf Incident
PM1107141588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jul 88 First Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Not the First 'Mistake.' Secret Report by British Intelligence"]

[Text] London, 10 Jul—British intelligence is highly critical of the actions of the U.S. Armed Forces in downing the Iranian passenger aircraft. This is reported today by THE SUNDAY TIMES, which has obtained a secret report prepared by the British intelligence services on the results of an investigation into the tragic occurrence.

The report emphasizes that the Iranian aircraft took off from the airport only 3 minutes behind schedule, did not deviate from the prescribed course, and was gaining rather than losing height, as the Pentagon originally claimed. The British Government's communications center in Cheltenham and also the frigate "Beaver," which was 50 miles from the scene, were constantly monitoring the conversations between the pilot of the Iranian airliner and the ground control at Bandar 'Abbas. On this basis intelligence drew the conclusion that the British Navy would not have opened fire on the aircraft.

By all accounts, Prime Minister M. Thatcher did not know of this conclusion by experts of the British special services, otherwise she would hardly have supported the actions of the U.S. military.

The intelligence report also contains the supposition that the tense situation created just prior to this by U.S. helicopters had contributed to the attack on the Iranian aircraft.

Stephen Milligan, Washington correspondent of THE SUNDAY TIMES, points out that "this is not the first time the U.S. Navy in the Persian Gulf has mistaken a civilian flight for a military one." Glenn Brindel, former captain of the USS "Stark," declared in an interview with that correspondent that 4 years ago another Iranian passenger airliner carrying pilgrims to Mecca was nearly downed when it was mistaken for a fighter.

Iran Calls for UN Security Council Meeting
LD1207060188 Moscow TASS in English 0551 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] New York July 12 TASS—The U.N. Security Council will hold a meeting today at the request of Iran. Iran's Acting Permanent Representative at the United Nations Mohammad Ja'far Mahallati [title as received] pointed out in a letter to the chairman of the Security Council that Iran requests to consider at the meeting the issue of the brutal killing by the U.S. naval forces of 290 innocent civilians—passengers of the Iran Air jetliner.

The issue will be considered at the request of the Iranian side separately without any connection with the Iranian-Iraqi conflict.

Weekly 'International Observers Roundtable'
LD1007201688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 10 Jul 88

["International Observers Roundtable" with Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich Bovin, IZVESTIYA political observer; Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, political observer; and Viktor Nikolayevich Levin, All-Union Radio commentator]

[Text] [Levin] Hello, esteemed comrades. Among the international events of the week, the first in all our minds is the tragic event in the Persian Gulf in which an Iranian passenger airliner was shot down by a U.S. missile. That event has echoed extensively across the entire planet, and aroused the same reaction throughout the world.

[Bovin] I wouldn't say the reaction has been the same. The reactions have been more complex. They've been the same in the sense that everyone has expressed condolences and, as it were...

[Levin, interrupting] They've admitted the fact that a tragedy has taken place.

[Bovin] Yes, that, that certainly. But the actual assessments of it haven't been very uniform. For example, the Americans themselves say it was a tragic accident. That's their main formula. In general, in principle, one can agree with it. The fact itself was a chance one. But the fact that—as our science, so to speak, teaches us—this chance element is the form in which the essential is made manifest, that is to say, it is the buildup of all this military weaponry and everything there that has brought this about; that is a different matter.

But what is the attitude of the Americans themselves? THE WASHINGTON POST carried out a review, a poll. Some 80 percent of Americans consider that the captain of the cruiser acted correctly; 71 percent consider that Reagan's policy in the Persian Gulf is the right one; and 61 percent are opposed to the payment of compensation. But this is how the United States has been in the past.

Remember how it welcomed the seizure of Grenada and the bombing of Libya. That is how the United States is. In other countries, of course, it's all quite different, so to speak.

[Levin] But the reaction, let me repeat at once, is an emotional one, it...

[Bovin, interrupting] Yes, of course, the thing is horrific, it is a tragedy without any doubt...

[Levin, interrupting] And on that point there's no disagreement. But in touching on the reactions in the United States, you, Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, came close to the gist of the matter. The gist of it is that, as it seems to me, the U.S. reliance on force in the Gulf is not working. The idea was to bring calm to the area and ensure freedom of navigation...

[Bovin, interrupting] That, yes, of course.

[Levin] But a tragedy occurred, and that tragedy was indeed an accident, but one that was to be expected in the situation that was created there.

[Bovin] The essence of their idea was not just about freedom of navigation. Even now, for example, even in speaking of that tragedy, they are putting it precisely on record that they also had another aim: to keep the Soviet Union out. They're now talking about this quite calmly. And it seems that that aim—that they're going to persist in this. Congressman Brock Adams said recently—I quote his words—we have obligations in the Persian Gulf which are without time limit. We don't know how to determine whether we have won, we don't know how to determine whether we've lost. All we know is that we're there, and we'll be there for a long time.

So there you are!

[Shishlin] But you know, I want to make my modest contribution to the discussion of this whole affair. What's attracting attention now is the steps the administration is taking—steps clearly dictated by this tragedy of the Iranian aircraft. Specifically: In his first public statement since the tragedy, U.S. Secretary of State Shultz said that contacts were being established with Iran immediately before this, through various channels, and that Iranian politicians—authoritative politicians, he says—had got in touch, and the United States had been concerned simply to choose a channel through which to enter into contact with Iran. And I think there are in Tehran some fairly influential political forces that have advocated a rapprochement with this Great Satan, as they call it.

[Bovin] That's very interesting. The Americans are now writing that they're amazed at the restraint of official Tehran's reaction. Demonstrations are taking place

there, people are going out onto the streets, and particularly there are the funerals, but the official reaction as seen in the newspapers is restrained. That is interesting, too.

[Shishlin] Furthermore, the position that is shaping up there is like this: Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the present commander in chief of the Iranian Armed Forces, is indeed taking a stance that can be described as restrained. Montazeri, the successor to Ayatollah Khomeyni—well, the successor-designate, although the ayatollah, at 87, is still the supreme ruler and main figure on the political stage in Iran—Montazeri did indeed make calls of an extreme kind, in other words that the United States should be given an equivalent reply for this. But Khomeyni, in a statement read out by Ahmad, his son, took the side of Rafsanjani. This is an extremely interesting situation, too.

Of course, without getting away from the fact that this was a tragedy that was programmed—and here you are absolutely right—the effect is the same as that of Chekhov's gun which hangs there and which was indeed bound to go off some time. And it did go off. It's not the first time that it's gone off, moreover, and if the situation is going to remain the same in the Gulf zone, it will go off again. Perhaps the echo will be even stronger. I think that now is the very time to start thinking about the fact that the effects of power politics are, of course, lamentable effects which have very bitter consequences. Moving away from power politics, acting from positions of reason, from positions of improving the situation and smoothing out political relations, that is what is required now. But it seems to me that the United States is not prepared for that. Of course, we have all noticed that they are saying that the policy is not going to change. That is how it was, and that is how it is going to be implemented. The U.S. fleet is going to be present in the Persian Gulf.

[Levin] Nevertheless, it does not seem superfluous to me to quote, too, some excerpts from a report by the staff of the U.S. Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, which even before this tragedy contained some very serious warnings. This report—and it was written by serious people—states directly that the United States is running the serious risk of finding itself drawn into the war in the Persian Gulf. Although the purpose of the presence in this region of a colossal U.S. fleet has been defined in specific terms—to escort vessels under the U.S. flag in the Persian Gulf—under present circumstances this mission is becoming dangerously vague. The report puts it directly: There is more and more evidence that shipping in the Persian Gulf is now less secure than it was before the buildup of U.S. naval strength there.

[Bovin] The statistics alone show how many more of these incidents are taking place there. Attacks on tankers have not gone down but have increased as a result of all these things.

[Levin] In other words, this is the blind alley of power politics.

[Bovin] A blind alley, a blind alley.

[Levin] A blind alley. But a blind alley from which the United States has no intention of emerging, if one is able to judge from the statements of administration spokesmen.

[Bovin] Well, they haven't yet touched upon it.

[Levin] This situation indicates that many things are still being evaluated in the old way in the Washington corridors of power, but it wouldn't be right today to say that that's the end of the story if only for one very simple reason: the fact that Marshal Akhromeyev, first deputy defense minister and Chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, is in Washington on an official visit.

[Bovin] He is the guest of Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It's a very interesting picture: Our ministers have already met twice—Carlucci and Yazov. Akhromeyev is there now, Carlucci is coming to Moscow in August, and Crowe is due to pay us a visit. There are also several of our generals there with Akhromeyev.

[Levin] And the question of an exchange of visits between the commanders in chief of the armed services is being examined, so a very interesting process is taking place.

[Shishlin] Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, I would like to tell our listeners, especially as they probably don't know this, that the following question was asked at the news conference with Sergey Fedorovich Akhromeyev: Did he not give any advice to the U.S. military people with regard to this tragic episode of the Iranian aircraft? In other words, in this particular case our marshal should have gone off and given advice to the U.S. admiral. But Sergey Fedorovich said that this question had not been discussed and that it would have been strange if he had started to give any recommendations to the U.S. military.

[Bovin] He said: I do not have the information that they have at their disposal. It would therefore be difficult to say anything.

[Shishlin] But at any rate, as far as an assessment of this event is concerned, I don't think that the journalists even asked for one, because it was perfectly clear to them that the Soviet marshal has a straightforward assessment of actions of that kind.

[Levin] But it seems to me that another interesting fact came out at that news conference. At the start of the conversation, the first conversation between Comrade Akhromeyev and Crowe, the U.S. admiral asked him

before going over to a discussion of the agenda to tell him in greater detail about what happened in Moscow at the all-union party conference.

[Bovin] Yes, and it seems that Akhromeyev spent about 30 minutes...

[Levin, interrupting] Thirty-five minutes.

[Bovin] ...thirty-five minutes telling him about what happened at the conference.

[Levin] So interest is being shown in the party conference by the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces too, and not only there. This is something that is only to be expected. Just 1 week has passed since the all-union party conference completed its work. The topic is still a burning one for the world's press but it is already—and I am referring to the party conference—finding concrete embodiment in the practical activity, in the foreign policy activity of the Soviet Union. I am thinking of those meetings and those events which are developing in the socialist countries. In the first place there is the visit by Karoly Grosz, the Hungarian leader, to Moscow and his conversation with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Then there is the visit to Czechoslovakia by Comrade Ryzhkov and the CEMA session, and the upcoming visit to Poland by Mikahil Sergeyevich Gorbachev. It seems to me that each one of these events deserves to be spoken about on its own. I would like to discuss first Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting with Grosz with you, esteemed colleagues.

[Bovin] I think that here they did have something to talk about of course, because to a certain extent we are moving behind Hungary in the whole of this situation. They began their restructuring somewhat earlier, if one is thinking about the economy, and also policy to some extent. They have built up quite a lot of experience, experience moreover which is not exclusively positive. There is negative experience, too. Therefore, as we attend to our own affairs we look carefully at what is taking place in their country, the more so in view of the fact that they, too, had a party conference and that it was there that they reviewed their economic strategy in many respects. They had a leadership change. Generally speaking, I think we are now moving to some extent in step with Hungary, although of course some things are different over there. But at the present stage of development of our society and of Hungarian society there is a very great deal that we have in common. One can therefore say that it was a meeting of friends, a meeting of partners, a meeting of people who are moving in the same direction and who, generally speaking, have an approximately identical understanding of the situation, as far as I am able to judge, both in our country and in Hungary about the whole of this restructuring.

[Shishlin] It seems to me that all of that is correct. I would just like to note two points. In my view the character of the conversation that took place in Moscow

between the leader of the Hungarian Communists and the leader of the Soviet Communists is distinguished by the following features: First, neither the Hungarian comrades nor the Soviet Communists, of course, claimed to be enriching the people they were talking to with the truth in any shape or form. That is to say what was taking place was the normal comparison of views.

[Bovin] They weren't teaching each other, they were learning from each other, that is how I would put it.

[Shishlin] Yes, perhaps; yes, perhaps that is a good way of putting it. Second: In these discussions it was apparent that there was a very wide area in which the points of view coincide on some key, perhaps one might say strategic, issues, concerning the development of cooperation between the socialist countries. I recall a great deal in this connection. I remember the way they approached CEMA, the way they approached issues relating to price formation in CEMA, how the discussions went on the convertibility of currencies, the discussions that were held on the transferable ruble, and so on. I remember how our finance people, our economists, literally disowned the system of price formation which has come into being and which unfortunately is today a very serious obstacle to the development of economic cooperation.

[Levin] One might add that they also disowned Hungarian experience in a very active manner.

[Bovin] That happened too, that happened too, but nevertheless...

[Shishlin, interrupting] That did happen, but nevertheless one must have due regard for the fact that the Hungarian leadership, the leader of the Hungarian Communists, was then Comrade Janos Kadar, respected by everyone, and he knew how to implement his line.

[Bovin] He had things his own way.

[Shishlin] So I think that this deeply businesslike, working meeting was certainly a plus for both Moscow and Budapest.

[Bovin] Incidentally, it is precisely those problems which you have now spoken about, Nikolay Vladimirovich, which had a lot of light shed on them in Prague—and no longer at the level of bilateral relations, so to speak—but all these problems affect all the countries of socialism, or all CEMA members, at least. After all, a very interesting document called "A Collective Concept for the International Socialist Division of Labor" was discussed there. Moreover, speaking there our prime minister stressed that there is, in general, a fairly complex situation here now. The growth rate in mutual trade has declined, and the socialist countries' indebtedness to third countries has risen. The model for the division of labor which we had previously was very simple: We give fuel and raw materials, and they give finished products. This model has also become a brake on development.

[Shishlin] Excuse me. It is not only external indebtedness which has risen. Unfortunately, Soviet indebtedness to socialist countries has also risen, because of the situation regarding raw materials.

[Bovin] Yes, and as a result of that, of that indebtedness, we are already compelled to limit imports to all the countries, while goods in short supply, which we need internally for the reproduction process, go as resources for export. All this restricts development. And it is precisely the acute nature of this situation which underlines especially this new collective concept. You see, features of restructuring are indeed already having an effect here, in the new concept, because the talk was of the need to restructure the whole mechanism of integration, on the basis of these financially autonomous foundations for relations. That is, enterprises must enter into links with each other directly, they must establish for themselves contract prices. Then there is the role of currency and credit relations and the attempt to level out exchange rates—that is, to bring currency exchange rates closer to the real provision. This is the very interesting and, of course, difficult set of issues which was the focus of attention in Prague.

[Shishlin] Unfortunately, I want to say that for all the productive nature of the work—as is the custom to describe it—at the 44th sitting of the CEMA session, a fairly wide spread of positions and various views are emerging all the same.

[Bovin, interrupting] Well now, that has always been the case, incidentally, often...

[Shishlin, interrupting] Yes, in particular, the Romanian comrades are clearly not prepared to enter upon any wide integration measures, and there is restraint among some other countries too with regard to the ideas which are being expressed by the Soviet Union, the Hungarian comrades, the Polish comrades, the Czechoslovak comrades...

[Levin] The list will come to an end now, and then it will become clear at once whom you have in mind!

[Shishlin] As a matter of fact, I am not planning to conceal that from our listeners. That is, I should like simply to say that this is very, very complicated work, they are all sensitive matters, matters of economics, and we have the real interests of real states here. How to learn to harness these interests in new conditions—specifically, in the conditions of restructuring, which is not brought forth behind closed doors, but is dictated by the economic situation in the world socialist system—this is, indeed, an extraordinarily complex subject.

[Bovin] There are complicating circumstances too, if I may say so, for there are not only CEMA members there. A very large group of observers is present there, that is, countries which are attached to CEMA and are, somehow, in contact with it. These are Yemen, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique and primarily, of course, Yugoslavia.

[Shishlin] Well, and we can add to this the fact CEMA came to this session in conditions when official relations had, at last, been established with the European Economic Community. And this also has to be filled out...

[Bovin, interrupting] That is also interesting. [words indistinct] It must urge things on, because, in general, we have lagged behind capitalist Europe in the process of integration. We are also in a complex situation here, and we must get out of this situation.

[Levin] I think the problems which were discussed were expressed very clearly, it seems to me, in Comrade Ryzhkov's speech. But when I read the communique—I admit frankly that I forced myself to read that communique only because it is part of my official duties, but it is a very heavy document, and heavy not only in terms of its style—you realize that the very spirit of the CEMA apparatus, which has not restructured itself at all, I feel, was reflected in it.

[Bovin] Well, in the first place, of course, it is the stuff of compromise.

[Levin] I am not thinking even of that. Here one very often encounters things such as, for example, this: "Statement describing the general situation. As a result of the intense efforts of the working people of the countries of the socialist community, growth in public sector production and further progress in the implementation of the social programs have been achieved."

[Bovin] Well now, that is the usual language, so to speak, from which...

[Levin, interrupting] And it goes on: "The session notes at the same time that full use is still not being made..."

[Bovin, interrupting] It's a classic. That is a bureaucratic classic, of course.

[Levin] I am afraid that this classic is, to a certain extent, typical of the CEMA apparatus, and this is yet another brake, not the most important one on the way toward solving the problems, but it is another braking factor nonetheless.

[Shishlin] I must say that life is not only a strict teacher, but an imperious teacher too. There is nowhere that we can go, we have no choice. We have to go for a truly genuine, bold division of labor on the socialist market, and we must indeed concern ourselves with eliminating together the technological lagging which has occurred and break out into a qualitatively new level of economic cooperation.

[Levin] There's no argument, without a doubt, no argument. This is our task. I would even say more. Speaking at the session, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov said that the Soviet Union is aware of what an enormous responsibility our country bears for the solution of all the tasks

facing CEMA, and literally all Soviet people must be deeply aware of this thought. After all, in the final analysis the successes of the Soviet Union, or more precisely, that which we can do, we must do and are obliged to do to breathe new life into CEMA. I am far from the idea of saying that nothing good has ever been done in CEMA. No, CEMA has done enormous work. At the new stage there are more complex tasks. In order to solve them we must first radically restructure our own economy. We must solve the tasks which were posed by the party, both at the party conference and at the 27th congress. That is to say, we shall never get anywhere without this. Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich mentioned that we have lagged behind the processes of integration in Western Europe. We have indeed lagged behind, and we have lagged behind dreadfully. After all, there the processes are already going so far that they are setting the task of eliminating all customs barriers in 1992, while we are merely approaching that moment. You understand of course that there is a symbolic phenomenon in front of the headquarters of the European Economic Community: There they hang not the 12 flags of the states belonging to it, but 13. The 13th flag is the flag of the EEC: 12 stars in a circle on a blue background. This is still symbolism, but that symbolism is acquiring real outlines more and more. But, for us, the socialist countries, where it would seem that there are more objective factors for the development of processes of integration, these tasks are unresolved, and therefore...

[Bovin] CEMA exists, but there isn't a flag!

[Shishlin] I believe that the CEMA session in Prague did some very good work. Not only did it provide rich food for thought, but in fact it sketched out the contours of the strategy that will ensure CEMA's reform, the reform of the system of economic cooperation, and the reform of the system of our economic links with our friends. And Viktor Nikolayevich, you forgot to mention that Prague is passing the baton of the socialist states' cooperation to Warsaw, because not only is Warsaw awaiting the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's visit at the moment, but Warsaw is also to be the venue for the next conference of the Warsaw Pact member states' Political Consultative Committee.

Our foreign policy is getting into a good rhythm and building up a good pace after the 19th all-union party conference. Without wishing to rush ahead or to say what we now expect from Warsaw—from the conference of the Political Consultative Committee—it is nevertheless quite clear that it will not be a routine event. There will be major contributions both to European and general world affairs.

[Levin] Particularly since among the assets of the socialist countries—and unquestionably these are the assets of all the socialist countries—the advances in the development of Soviet-U.S. relations are very noticeable, as is the development of dialogue between the European socialist countries and the capitalist countries.

[Shishlin] In the past year a great many interesting proposals and initiatives have accumulated in the socialist foreign policy collection box. There has been the Jaruzelski Plan; the dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact; and thoughts on how to set about making deep cuts in conventional weapons in Europe in the zone from the Atlantic to the Urals. Also in this collection box is the idea of creating non-nuclear zones...

[Levin, interrupting] Including the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan.

[Shishlin] Yes, but unfortunately I need to say that, although nobody keeps this collection box locked away from them, the West Europeans very seldom peep in there and are unwilling to give it a decent shake.

[Bovin] This, as it happens, is the basic problem of duality. On the one hand everyone really does understand mankind's general need for disarmament and the construction of a European home. On the other hand there are social interests, class interests. On the one hand of course they want to disarm, they really do. But they want to do so in their own way. They want to leave nuclear weapons in Europe and for the time being slow down their reduction. But on conventional weapons, of which they believe we have far more, then fine, let's cut those! And at the same time we can compensate for some things by modernizing and so on. That is the dual position here. Incidentally, if we consider Afghanistan, our Western colleagues again hold a dual position. On the one hand they favor the withdrawal of Soviet troops. They give guarantees and sign papers. But, I'm sorry, in practical terms what is there? In practical terms what does a U.S. guarantee mean? I get the impression that as yet this guarantee is still just a piece of paper, without any political substance. The situation there is quite complicated. I should like to say something else: The need to manage, shall we say, conflict situations, is so great that even just the approach to the Afghan problem and the signing of the agreements have started to move the Cambodian problem, setting it in motion. And now there is quite an intensive exchange of opinions about this conflict.

[Shishlin] I agree, of course, that there is some movement on the Cambodian problem and that the withdrawal of the 50,000-strong contingent of Vietnamese troops is in itself the most expressive indication of this. But there has been a curious reaction: Norodom Sihanouk is now expressing some doubt as to what will become of Cambodia if the Vietnamese troops leave...

[Bovin, interrupting] Everyone is afraid of the Khmer Rouge, because their military formations are quite strong. And everyone is afraid that if the Vietnamese go, then they could again arrive there. Incidentally, the Americans are categorically opposed to this.

[Shishlin] And the Americans likewise...

[Bovin, interrupting] Sihanouk is afraid of that. And this is where the idea of international forces to strengthen the peace in Cambodia comes from. As I understand it so far, Vietnam is very cool toward this, but the idea has been put forward, and the UN plan exists, where it can fit. And at least it is being discussed, in order to ensure that the Khmer Rouge does not return. This is also an interesting turn of events.

[Shishlin] Particularly since Phnom Penh views in a very positive light a political configuration in which Prince Sihanouk will play the principal role, I believe. A very positive light. At any rate the actual idea of forming a coalition government is acknowledged by all parties.

[Bovin] Yes, yes.

[Levin] These then are the difficult and diverse events that are presently going on in the world. But I believe that for us the most important thing is that the priority line of Soviet foreign policy—and this is a line aimed at strengthening and developing relations with the socialist countries—is being embodied more and more vividly and is being developed in a very active way.

I should like to note above all that there can be no doubt that the foundations on which relations between the socialist countries must be built are the principles of equality, noninterference in one another's affairs, mutual assistance and mutual benefit, independence, and a common responsibility for the historical destiny of socialism. It is this very approach that permits solutions to be found to any problems that may arise in the relations between the socialist countries, that allows the specific national features of each of them to be provided for, and that allows a sensible balance of the interests that cement these relations to be struck.

Let us be frank: Not so very long ago many of these concepts I have referred to appeared to some to be seditious, and supposedly to run counter to the principles of socialist internationalism. But these incantations concealed an inability—and possibly even an unwillingness—to comprehend the full complexity of the problems that arise in the world, and a desire to canonize dogmas. Now a process is under way—not an easy process, and one should be frank about that—a process of purging ourselves of these dogmas, and a process of overcoming the stratification that is preventing us from moving ahead. Returning to the CEMA session, one may with complete justification say that the member countries did not merely confirm their determination to forge consistently along the road of radical renewal of the present system of mutual cooperation. They also made important decisions which extend the opportunities to make use of the new forms and methods of cooperation that are in keeping with the requirements of the times.

We know that many bright events also lie ahead. We have already mentioned Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to the Polish People's Republic

and the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. There is no doubt that these forthcoming events will live up to our expectations.

On that note, esteemed comrades, our program has come to an end. Thank you for your attention. All the best.

Gorbachev Message Read to Alliance Congress
*LD0707144488 Moscow TASS in English 1351 GMT
7 Jul 88*

[Text] Stockholm July 7 TASS—TASS correspondent D. Gorokhov reports:

Questions of the development of cooperative movement, of the enhancement of its role in national and world economy, of pooling the efforts of members of cooperative societies in the struggle for peace are in the spotlight of attention of the 29th Congress of the International Cooperative Alliance that opened in the Swedish capital today. Over a thousand delegates from 70 countries, including the Soviet delegation led by Chairman of the Board of the Central Council of Consumers Cooperatives P. Fedirko, take part in the forum of this major international non-governmental organization uniting more than 500 million cooperators.

The congress was opened by President of the International Cooperative Alliance Lars Marcus. He read out a message from General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev. It was warmly received by delegates of the forum. United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar and Sweden's Foreign Minister Sten Anderson addressed the first meeting.

Debates started today on the main items of a busy agenda—"the fundamental cooperative values" and "assistance of cooperative societies to developing countries." Meetings of specialised bodies, as well as a first international seminar of young cooperators are held in the framework of the congress. The seminar will discuss topical tasks of anti-war struggle, forms of contacts and interaction in this area. The programme of the congress also envisages the familiarisation of the participants in the forum with versatile experience of the activity of the Swedish cooperative movement, one of the oldest in the world.

PRAVDA Carries Message
*PM1007182588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jul 88 First Edition p 1*

[M. Gorbachev greetings message to 29th Congress of the International Cooperative Alliance]

[Text] To the participants in the 29th International Cooperative Alliance Congress:

I greet the participants in the 29th Congress of the International Cooperative Alliance—one of the oldest mass organizations.

The Soviet Union esteems the services rendered by the alliance in establishing and developing the international cooperative movement. The alliance has recently been helping to solve global problems common to all mankind and has been participating in the general efforts to establish a lasting peace.

In the course of restructuring in the Soviet Union we have adopted a course of encouraging the cooperative movement in every way, reviving various forms of highly efficient, independent cooperation, and creating conditions conducive to revealing its maximum democratic potential. Hence our interest in world cooperative experience.

I express the hope that the International Cooperative Alliance's Stockholm conference will be successful and will enhance the role played by the cooperative movement in solving the most pressing tasks now confronting the world community of the peoples.

M. Gorbachev

Final Resolution Reported
*LD1007163888 Moscow TASS in English 1504 GMT
10 Jul 88*

[Text] Stockholm July 10 TASS—TASS correspondent Dmitriy reports:

The cooperative movement is capable of playing a more considerable role in ensuring social and economic progress in the near future. This conclusion was drawn by the participants in the 29th Congress of International Cooperative Alliance (ICA) which ended in Stockholm today. It was attended by more than a thousand delegates who represented more than 500 million cooperative members from 70 countries.

Discussions held during the plenary meetings, and working contacts among the delegations made for a broad exchange of practical experience in developing cooperation.

The Soviet delegation held meetings with representatives of cooperatives from Sweden, India, the United States, Canada and other countries who displayed great interest in the role of cooperatives in the current restructuring of Soviet economy, social and cultural spheres, as well as in new large-scale transformations of Soviet society outlined by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

The guidelines of the further activities of ICA, the world's biggest non-governmental organisation, were adopted by the congress at its final session.

Its resolution, entitled Peace, points out the exceptional importance of curbing the arms race, lowering international tensions, ensuring an overall respect for human rights and eliminating all forms of inequality.

The congress welcomed the signing of the Soviet-American INF Treaty which, according to the resolution, raised hopes for genuine disarmament.

The congress elected the leadership of the International Cooperative Alliance. Lars Marcus of Sweden was elected the Alliance's president and Pavel Fedirko, chairman of the board of the USSR Central Cooperative Union (Tsentrsoyuz), its vice-president.

The congress called on the United Nations to hold an international year of cooperatives in 1995, which will see ICA's centenary, to attract the attention of governments as well as international and public organisations to the tasks and needs of the cooperative movement.

Four-Party Negotiations on Angola Noted
LD1207082488 Moscow TASS in English 0608 GMT
12 Jul 88

[Text] New York July 12 TASS—A meeting of representatives of Angola, Cuba, the United States and the Republic of South Africa was held in New York on Monday to prepare an agreement on settlement of the situation in the south of Africa. It comes as continuation of the four-sided negotiations, which began in London in May this year and then continued in Cairo late in June.

The Angolan side expressed readiness for stage-by-stage withdrawal of Cuban internationalists from the country, if a number of demands are met, specifically, an end to any assistance on the part of the United States and the Republic of South Africa to the terrorist UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] group and withdrawal of the South African troops from the occupied areas of Angola.

Angola's Foreign Ministry repeatedly noted that the negotiations fit into the framework of the Republic's efforts to ensure national security and early implementation of the U.N. Security Council's Resolution 435 on decolonisation of Namibia, occupied by the racists of the Republic of South Africa.

De Clercq Discusses EEC-CEMA Relations
PM0507115088 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian 6 Jul 88 p 9

[Special correspondent Aleksandr Sabov report under the rubric "On the Scene": "Europe: Living Without Barriers"]

[Text] Luxembourg—The European Economic Community (EEC) has its own flag, an anthem, a single passport, a currency unit (the "ECU"), a bank, a parliament, a court, and three "capitals," three centers of the community's business activity: Brussels, Strasbourg, and Luxembourg. The EEC's summer calendar already includes several events on an all-European scale: as General Charles de Gaulle understood Europe, "from the Atlantic to the Urals." At the beginning of June the Soviet

Union officially recognized the EEC, sending its credentials to Brussels, though as yet without an ambassador. The GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria have expressed their readiness to follow suit. At the end of June in Luxembourg the two major international economic organizations, CEMA and the EEC, signed a joint declaration on the establishment of official relations. In other words, CEMA (10 countries) and the EEC (12 countries) diplomatically recognized each other. Yet another barrier artificially dividing our continent has been removed.

However, one geographical clarification must be made at once: Since Mongolia, Vietnam, and Cuba are also CEMA members, to some extent it is justified to say that the barrier fell on three continents at once. Thus the "tricontinental" CEMA on the one hand, and the EEC on the other, unanimously removed the fence of economic alienation that separated them from one another since birth. After the ceremonial procedure and speeches, your correspondent turned to one of those who signed the declaration, Willy de Clercq, member of the EC Commission in charge of questions on external relations and trade policy.

[Sabov] You are basically the Common Market foreign minister: Do you feel today is a festive occasion?

[De Clercq] Yes, I am very happy. The EEC and CEMA started talks 14 years ago, but they were repeatedly deadlocked. We resumed contacts 3 years ago, and today they have culminated in diplomatic recognition of each other. This success will help to strengthen detente in Europe and—I would like to note this particularly—it is itself a concrete result of detente.

[Sabov] What was the greatest difficulty on the path of achieving this level of relations between CEMA and the EEC?

[De Clercq] They are two different organizations with different tasks. CEMA is an economic cooperation organization, the EEC an economic integration organization. Their legal status is completely different. That is why we have always advocated bilateral relations between the EEC and the Eastern European countries belonging to CEMA, but CEMA did not agree to that and insisted on acting as intermediary in the conclusion of any contracts. The situation was blocked for many years. It was only in 1985-1986 that the principle of parallelism we proposed met with a response. This principle will make it possible to combine bilateral contacts between the EEC and East European countries with relations between the EEC and CEMA themselves, as international economic organizations. Especially since bilateral contacts have long since become a reality; Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia maintain economic relations with the EEC, and the Soviet Union has recently displayed an interest in cooperation with it.

[Sabov] The document signed today is described among diplomats as a "framework agreement": The framework exists, the content still has to be filled in... How specifically will it be filled in?

[De Clercq] The CEMA member countries' share of the total volume of the EEC's trade and economic exchanges amounts to only 6.6 percent. A pitifully small porportion! Moreover a trend toward the lessening of exchanges has been observed in recent years. Now, let us hope that all the conditions have been created to make up for lost time. [De Clercq ends]

Of course, many barriers and obstacles hampering the unity of the "two Europes" still remain on our continent. But literally before our very eyes the nuclear barrier has thinned out markedly on both sides. The event that happened on 25 June 1988 in Luxembourg, the EEC's "summer capital," will go down in European history as a memorable and even great date: From now on the way is open for broad economic cooperation between the "two Europes."

When—before my eyes—the barrier that had existed for nearly 40 years collapsed, bottles of champagne were carried in on trays. Everything was precisely in accordance with tradition: After the site had been cleared, the first stone of "our common European home" was laid. These words of M.S. Gorbachev's rang out in all the speeches and interviews delivered in the European Center building on Kirchberg Hill in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

FRG-GDR Group Discusses European Security
*LD0707203288 Moscow TASS in English 1800 GMT
7 Jul 88*

[Text] Bonn July 7 TASS—A joint working group of the Social Democratic Party of Germany group in Bundestag and the political leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany have appealed to countries members of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe to create a zone of trust and security in central Europe. Concrete measures in this direction were submitted today at a press conference held by the leaders of the working group Egon Bahr, member of the Presidium of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, and Hermann Axen, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

In the period of drafting, the communique points out, the sides were guided by the understanding that international security can be only mutual in the nuclear age. The process which was started by the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe laid down an important foundation for this. The Moscow meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, the document stresses, strengthened the belief that the European states,

especially the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, must make their own contribution to the cause of disarmament and detente.

After the entry into force of the INF Treaty it is necessary to take advantage of the historic chance to create an international order which will ensure security to all states without exception. We reject any idea of compensation for the nuclear missiles to be destroyed under the treaty. The process of disarmament and detente must become long-term and irreversible, the final document stresses.

To create the zone of trust and security in central Europe, it runs, it is necessary to take and elaborate measures which would convince both sides that no one has intentions to stage a surprise attack. In particular, it is proposed that the lower ceiling on the personnel and tanks taking part in the exercises with a 60-day notice should be reduced further, while exercises involving more than 20,000 people should be announced two years ahead. The working group also suggested that exercises with more than 40,000 men be banned.

New NATO Secretary General Profiled
*PM1007164588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 6 Jul 88 First Edition p 3*

[Unattributed profile of NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner]

[Text] As of 1 July, for the first time in the history of the North Atlantic bloc, a representative of the FRG, former Defense Minister Manfred Woerner, is secretary general of NATO.

He was born on 24 September 1934 in Stuttgart, the son of a textiles dealer. He studied law in Heidelberg, Munich, and Paris. On 1956 Woerner joined the Christian Democratic Union (CDU). In the sixties he gained a doctorate with a dissertation on the topic "The Siting of Foreign Forces in Friendly Countries." In 1965 he was elected a Bundestag deputy. From 1977 through 1982 he was chairman of the parliamentary defense commission. When the CDU/Christian Social Union-Free Democratic Party coalition came to power in 1982 he was appointed FRG defense minister.

M. Woerner has a reputation as an amateur pilot. Since 1966 he has been a reservist for an FRG Air Force fighter-bomber squadron, with the military rank of reserve lieutenant colonel.

The new NATO secretary general knows English and French.

In his present post M. Woerner will in many respects determine the North Atlantic bloc's military as well as its foreign policy course. As chairman of the NATO Council, the Military Planning Committee, and Nuclear Planning Group, he will also contribute to the elaboration of the bloc's general tactics at disarmament talks.

Woerner's political views are little different from those of his predecessor, Lord Carrington. He earned his reputation as a "hawk" back in the seventies, when he vigorously advocated the commencement of the production of neutron weapons in the United States and their transfer to the territory of West European countries. "The sooner the West gets neutron weapons the better," Woerner stressed in a speech in 1978.

Woerner reached the peak of his popularity among right-wing politicians and reactionary generals when, at the end of the last decade, he played a key part in the siting of U.S. medium-range missiles on FRG territory. For propaganda purposes he repeatedly made statements that conflicted with the spirit of the times, trying to intimidate the populace of Western Germany with the mythical "Soviet military threat" and distorting the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states.

When FRG defense minister, Woerner urged West European countries to conduct talks with the Soviet Union from a position of strength. He associated the possibility of achieving positive results in the disarmament sphere with unilateral concessions on the part of the socialist states. He advocated the further strengthening of military links between Western Europe and the United States and the creation, within the NATO framework, of a "unified system of European defense" in which, according to him, the FRG and France would play the leading role. M. Woerner persistently pursued a policy geared to intensifying the Bundeswehr's combat might. He constantly demanded increased military expenditure. While he was FRG defense minister the country's military budget increased from DM44 billion to DM51 billion.

The new NATO secretary general supports the U.S. "Star Wars" program and is also an advocate of the development of a West European version of SDI. By and large he welcomed the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, but he demanded that NATO increase its arsenal of air- and sea-launched nuclear missiles. At the same time, he "warned against the illusion that the policy of new thinking in the Soviet Union will solve the questions of security in Europe." Nor does the new NATO secretary general see "any sign that the Soviet Union is switching to a new defensive military doctrine." He sees the further buildup of conventional armaments and a considerable increase in military expenditure by the bloc countries as his chief task in the post.

First Speech Assessed

LD0707112588 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1300 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 6 Jul (TASS)—TASS commentator Igor Maslov writes:

A change of leaders has taken place in the leadership of the North Atlantic bloc. Manfred Woerner, former FRG defense minister and the new secretary general of the alliance, has been presented at a ceremony at the NATO Headquarters. He replaces the UK's Lord Carrington in this post.

Thus it is not by chance that the attention of political observers has been attracted by M. Woerner's first speech at a news conference in Brussels. The democratic public in the bloc's member countries is quite justifiably asking: A new man has come into the political and military leadership of NATO. Can one connect with him hopes for a weakening of the confrontation between East and West and for attaining tangible results in curbing the arms race? Of particular concern is whether the new leader of the alliance will be able to overcome his old stereotypes as a champion of the production of neutron weapons and their deployment on the territory of West European countries, his support for the U.S. SDI program, and whether he will give up the propagandized theory "from positions of strength."

Let me say straight away: Woerner's first speech was, unfortunately, quite contradictory. On the one hand he said: "We are faced with a Soviet policy which engenders many hopes." On the other, straight away, and ignoring numerous initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community in the sphere of disarmament, he asserted that the Soviet side "has not furnished any tangible evidence that the Soviet Union will slacken its military effort."

Woerner's support for the militaristic aspirations of the North Atlantic bloc is also evident in his statement welcoming "the decision of the Italian Parliament to accept NATO's invitation to deploy the 401st Tactical Wing of U.S. F-16 fighter-bombers in Italy after their relocation from Spain." Even anyone unversed in military matters can clearly see that Italian territory is much closer to the borders of the socialist countries than Spanish territory.

In order to somehow balance his speech, the NATO secretary general launched into reasoning about how "the forthcoming talks between the alliance and the USSR and its allies will be a decisive test of the more peaceable and defensive intentions proclaimed by the Warsaw Pact." At the same time he stated plainly that in his work he intends to comprehensively "maintain NATO's deterrent potential by keeping a high level of armament, and consolidate the cohesion of the unity and the might of the bloc." Manfred Woerner, as can be seen, although he tried to present himself in the role of

supporter of "progress in the political and humanitarian spheres" between East and West, nevertheless failed to restrain himself from the views of his predecessor. Time will show whether the new NATO leader will be able to march in step with the times—away from confrontation and toward reducing the level of military confrontation.

United States & Canada

Reagan Decides on Compensation for Airbus Victims
*LD1107213088 Moscow TASS in English 2107 GMT
12 Jul 88*

[Text] Washington July 11 TASS—A spokesman for the White House announced on Monday that President Reagan had decided on the payment of compensation to the families of those killed in an "incident" when USS Vincennes in the composition of the U.S. naval group in the Persian Gulf shot down an Iranian airliner by a missile.

The spokesman said the presidential decision is apparently to be endorsed by the Congress. The amounts of the compensation and other details have not yet been specified.

At the same time the White House spokesman again blamed the "incident" mostly on the Iranian Government which had allowed an Iranian airliner to make a flight over an area where hostilities took place. He also said that Reagan still held that by dealing a missile strike on the Iranian plane, the ship's commander had taken quite a justifiable defensive action and that the President grieved the tragic death of innocent victims of the incident.

Linked With Hostages

*LD1107215788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 11 Jul 88*

[Text] There is no letup in the world's resentment concerning the death of the 290 passengers and crew of the Iranian airliner downed by missiles launched by a U.S. warship. New important questions arise concerning the crime committed by the U.S. military. Sergey Pravdin, a commentator from the international department, will tell us about some of them.

[Pravdin] One of the questions is: Why is the United States in such a hurry to pay compensation? This must have been announced by Washington today, incidentally. It is by no means a matter of Americans, including those in various posts in the Washington administration, being compassionate people, as President Reagan claims. The administration, which is trying to justify the actions of its military, would of course like to close and paint over the matter, as it were, to stop the wave of condemnation throughout the world.

However, as AFP claims today, by offering compensation to Iran even before the Pentagon has completed its own inquiry into the incident, the United States is obviously aspiring to

start a political dialogue with Iranian moderate circles, which is necessary in particular to tackle the question of the release of U.S. hostages seized in Lebanon allegedly by a pro-Iranian organization.

Only the day after tomorrow the International Civilian Aviation Organization will meet in Geneva, incidentally, to discuss the incident, while tomorrow a meeting of the UN Security Council will open in New York. It is being convened at the request of Iran which naturally wants the U.S. actions to be condemned.

While Washington alleges that the cause of the incident is the actual Iran-Iraq War, in which various unpredictable events are possible, Tehran's view is unequivocal this time. The main reason for the death of innocent people en masse is the presence of the U.S. naval armada in the Persian Gulf. This stance coincides with the view of very many UN members. It is the attempt of the United States to reinforce its control in the Gulf region on the pretext of providing freedom for shipping that has caused the tragedy. But many Washington officials, who fail to find the new political thinking agreeable, do not want to understand this, and thus continue to escalate tension in the Persian Gulf region.

'Short-sighted' U.S. Policy

*OW1207090388 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 1400 GMT 7 Jul 88*

[Glazunov commentary]

[Text] The destruction of an Iranian airliner by Americans on Sunday with the death of nearly 300 passengers, remains in the spotlight in the world political arena to date. Was it a tragic error or a premeditated crime? Our station's political observer Glazunov has the following comments:

It is not an enviable job to play the role of Cassandra, for she foretells only the ominous things. However, it is not her fault that her forecasts come true.

There have been numerous predictions and warnings that the growing U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf could have disastrous effects. Now the disaster has come, causing an outcry around the globe but also calling for a sober analysis.

There are two versions of the incident. One, which is put forward by the Government of the United States, blames it on a tragic error. The other calls it a result of premeditated aggression, not error. First of all, people are tempted to ask how can the sophisticated radar system used by the Cruiser Vincennes mistake a slow-flying and enormous Airbus for a small, high-speed fighter? I, too, think better of American technology. THE WASHINGTON POST quotes U.S. military experts as saying a computer error seems unlikely.

This leaves us with two explanations: Either the command of the U.S. cruiser ordered the firing on an unidentified object in a show of cold-blooded carelessness, or it knew very well that it was firing a missile at a passenger plane. Could the second scenario be the case? Why not? Does it not fit well with the concept of intimidation which in the past led the American hawkish elements to shell residential areas of Beirut and bomb Libyan cities, victimizing even women and children there? It is the same case with the Iranian plane. To intimidate, to punish, and to teach a lesson have become common terms in the text of U.S. strategies.

Be it an error or a show of malicious intent, the incident was bound to happen sooner or later. It was programmed by the U.S. policy of building up military strength in the Persian Gulf. Just as you cannot put out a fire with gasoline, you cannot extinguish an armed conflict by sending more troops and weapons to the battle zone. It is not only meaningless but provocative. It can only aggravate the conflict, as the Airbus incident has shown. As the U.S. naval forces build up in the Persian Gulf, shipping has become increasingly perilous there. Now civilian air services are also in danger. The Iranian plane incident is by no means accidental; it is a logical outcome of Washington's short-sighted policies. We can quote a sentence from one of Moliere's plays to answer the U.S. Government's regret and explanations, that is, [words indistinct]. However the incident may be qualified, regrettably, it poses as another forceful argument for an early withdrawal of U.S. fleets from the Gulf.

Arms Inspector Reviews Visit in U.S.

LD1107181588 Moscow TASS in English 1801 GMT
11 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 11 TASS—By TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev:

Soviet monitor groups returning from U.S. military facilities have fulfilled their inspection plans completely, encountering no impediments or obstructions on the part of the Americans, according to the commander of those groups.

Colonel Vyacheslav Lebedev, who led the monitors on their first specions in U.S. territory under the INF Treaty on July 1 through 5, was giving a briefing to reporters at the Soviet national nuclear risk reduction center.

He said "The American side has done everything for our program to go smoothly" and praised the hosts' efficiency.

He added that the Soviet groups were offered "good conditions for leisure as well" but they "had too little time for that" as they were too busy doing their jobs.

While speaking of the well-wishing and responsive hosts, Lebedev also recalled, for objectivity's sake, a vexatious episode which had made the Soviet delegation smile ironically.

The matter is, the colonel explained, that when they arrived at the Travis military base in California, the customs, demonstrating "different degrees of zeal", studied the monitors' personal luggage as well as the equipment meant for the inspections.

By contrast, the Soviet customs, Lebedev added, do not look into the personal belongings of the U.S. inspectors coming to the USSR.

He went on to say, however, that later, before the group was to fly out of the United States, an understanding was reached with Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Smalls, who represented the U.S. side, that the personal things of the Soviet inspectors won't be subjected for a repeat inspection either.

But it took the interference of the Soviet Embassy in Washington for the agreement to be honored at the airport, Lebedev observed.

"On the whole, though, I am very pleased with the work done," the leader of Soviet inspectors said. "We have formed a respectful relationship of partners with our American colleagues."

Speaking at the same briefing, Colonel Nikolay Shabalin, deputy chief of the Soviet national nuclear risk reduction center, said that between July 1 and 11 a total of 18 groups of U.S. inspectors have come to the USSR and four of those groups are [to] continue their work in this country.

All in all, 23 facilities have already been inspected, he said, pointing out that the Americans have been showing primary attention to missile operating bases.

The second tour of inspections is to begin July 12. Today and tomorrow another seven inspector groups will arrive in the USSR and as many as 32 facilities will have been covered by inspections by 14.30 Moscow time tomorrow.

Akhromeyev Visit to Washington Reported

Meets With Reagan

LD1107200588 Moscow TASS in English 1859 GMT
11 Jul 88

[Text] Washington July 11 TASS—There was a meeting in the White House today between President of the United States Ronald Reagan and chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, first USSR deputy minister of defence, Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev who is staying on an official visit in the USA at the invitation of Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the USA Admiral William Crowe.

Marshal Akhromeyev shared his impressions from the tour of the United States during which he had familiarized himself with the activity of the U.S. Armed Forces, visited a number of U.S. military facilities and discussed questions of mutual interest for the Armed Forces of the two countries.

A plan of contacts between the armed forces of the USSR and the USA for 1988-1990 was brought into effect during the visit of Marshal Akhromeyev. An arrangement was reached about the work of Soviet-American group for the prevention of dangerous military activity of the Armed Forces with regard to each other.

Ends Visit, Speaks With Press

*LD1207030988 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0121 GMT 12 Jul 88*

[Text] Washington, 12 Jul TASS—TASS correspondent Oleg Polyakovskiy reports: The official visit to the United States of S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and USSR first deputy defense minister, has ended. He was here at the invitation of Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff.

During the week-long visit, S.F. Akhromeyev and Admiral W. Crowe had detailed discussions of questions of mutual interest to the Armed Forces of the USSR and the United States and put into operation a plan for contacts between the two countries at the military level. This envisages an exchange of visits by leaders of the Armed Forces of the USSR and the United States, by ships, delegations of military historians, doctors, sportsmen, military bands, and exchanges between military educational establishments. A visit by Admiral Crowe to the USSR is planned for next summer.

Marshal S.F. Akhromeyev and Admiral W. Crowe issued a joint statement in which they came out in favor of the improvement of relations between the Armed Forces of the USSR and the United States facilitating a reduction in the risk of outbreak of dangerous military activity between the Armed Forces of the two sides. The setting up of a Soviet-U.S. military working group is envisaged that will review in detail the question of dangerous military activity and will work out appropriate recommendations and also study the possibilities for implementing operational communications between units of the two Armed Forces with the aim of preventing or stopping dangerous military activity between them.

Marshal S.F. Akhromeyev made a trip around the United States during which he acquainted himself with the activity of all arms of the U.S. Armed Forces and visited a number of military facilities. On the final day of the week-long visit, S.F. Akhromeyev had a meeting with U.S. President Ronald Reagan who spoke of the necessity for the military leaders of our countries to get to know each other and learn more about each other.

At a press conference held yesterday in the Pentagon, Marshal S.F. Akhromeyev noted that while he was being acquainted with the U.S. Armed Forces and with ordinary Americans, he had been convinced that they approve of the policy of improving Soviet-U.S. relations which are being conducted by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan. In reply to one of the questions the marshal stressed that the USSR's military doctrine is of a defensive nature both in form and in content. "The reduction in armed forces, the lowering of tension, and the full implementation of that doctrine is possible only bilaterally. Therefore, it is necessary to sit down at the negotiating table and begin to try to reach agreement," S.F. Akhromeyev pointed out.

"We reached agreement on a whole range of questions and this will be of considerable help in expanding contacts between our countries' military officials in the future and, I hope, in reducing the possibility of dangerous incidents between our Armed Forces, W. Crowe stated at the press conference.

Issues Statement With Crowe

*LD1207061188 Moscow TASS in English 0553 GMT
12 Jul 88*

[Text] Washington July 12 TASS—Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and first deputy defense minister, who was staying here on a visit, and Admiral Crowe, the U.S. chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, made a joint statement on Monday, which says, in part:

The Soviet chief of General Staff and the U.S. chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, in their discussions indicated their intent to pursue policies and actions which will assist the Armed Forces of the USSR and the U.S. in the avoidance of engagement in dangerous military activity in the vicinity of each other, and in the immediate termination of such activity, should it arise. To this end, the sides will also ensure the appropriate training and preparation of their respective Armed Forces.

Additionally, they indicated that they intend to establish a Soviet-U.S. military-to-military working group, to operate under guidance which they shall provide, to explore the issue of dangerous military activity in greater detail and make recommendations. Among other things, the working group will review the two sides' respective capabilities to communicate expeditiously with elements of the military forces of the other country for the purpose of preventing dangerous military activity from occurring or continuing between elements of those military forces.

In addition, the working group will consider whether there are types of dangerous military activity which could arise that are not subject to specific existing arrangements, which should be made the subject of appropriate arrangements. The two senior military representatives also indicated that there is no intention on

their part to replace or derogate from existing agreements such as the 1972 agreement on the prevention of incidents on and over the high seas or the 1947 Huebner Malinin agreement on military liaison missions. Their intent is simply to improve their professional relationship so that members of the military forces of the USSR and U.S. are less at risk when operating within the vicinity of each other.

Northeast Asia

U.S. Navy Exercises in Sea of Japan

LD0707142988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 7 Jul 88 First Edition p 3

[V. Vinogradov commentary: "On a Far-fetched Pretext"]

[Text] At the very beginning of July, the Japanese National Defense Agency reported, a shock grouping of 10 U.S. Navy ships headed by the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier "Carl Vinson" carried out unannounced exercises in the Sea of Japan. At approximately the same time declared Japanese and U.S. Air Force maneuvers took place in the airspace off the northern coast of the Japanese island of Honshu. Tokyo earmarked F-1 and F-15 fighters and E-2C early detection and warning aircraft from the Titoshe and Misawa air bases to take part in these exercises. The Pentagon put F-14 fighters and a group of warships from the 7th fleet into these maneuvers. And 36 U.S. fighter bombers transferred to South Korea from the "Midway" aircraft carrier which is being repaired in the waters of the Yokosuka Naval Base will soon carry out exercises south of Seoul.

The Pentagon's militarist activeness in this region attests that Washington is implementing a specific program with a persistence worthy of better application. The aim of this program is the buildup of the U.S. military presence in the Far East and primarily on the south of the Korean peninsula. It has been decided to use as a pretext the holding in Seoul of the summer 1988 Olympics whose safety must supposedly be ensured.

The details of this militarist program were finally agreed between Seoul and Washington during the annual bilateral consultations on security issues held in the South Korean capital. And now a grouping headed by the aircraft carrier "Carl Vinson" has been rehearsing operations to defend the coast against an attacking enemy. KYODO has reported that it is obvious that it is this aircraft carrier with its escort ships which prior to and during the 1988 Olympics will control the airspace and maritime space off the Korean peninsula. As for the Air Force maneuvers on Honshu island, the newspaper YOMIURI directly linked their holding with the training of U.S. and Japanese Armed Forces for possible "emergency circumstances" during the forthcoming Olympic

Games. Well, even the U.S. mass media called the sudden simultaneous transfer of 36 combat aircraft from the aircraft carrier "Midway" to the Seoul region "unprecedented."

But these are only the flowers, as they say, the berries are in the future. Under the Pentagon's plans, as the 1988 Olympics approach, U.S. military activity will grow. Before the Olympics start, as has already been mentioned, one or even two U.S. Navy aircraft carrier groupings will take up their station in South Korean waters. In South Korea itself the more than 40,000-strong U.S. corps stationed there will be put on full combat alert. Additional subunits of U.S. servicemen will be transferred to South Korea, not only from Japan and Hawaii but also from California. And during the Olympics vast expanses of the Sea of Japan will be the venue for large-scale U.S. Navy and Air Force maneuvers in which servicemen from the third Marines division stationed on Okinawa will take part.

The United States is accompanying its frankly provocative actions aimed at stepping up confrontation in the region with all kinds of stories against the DPRK, in particular the allegation that it has sited close to the military demarcation line missiles making it possible to strike Seoul. In a special statement a spokesman for the DPRK Ministry of the People's Armed Forces has resolutely rejected these claims by the U.S. side, assessing them as overt slander, and has at the same time drawn attention to the fact that the United States has deployed just 35 km south of the military demarcation line Lance missiles capable of carrying nuclear, neutron, and chemical warheads and that the Pentagon has stockpiled over 1,000 units of various nuclear weapons on South Korean territory.

As is well known, the DPRK has put forward proposals aimed at achieving detente and ensuring security on the Korean peninsula. Pyongyang has frequently confirmed its determination to continue to make persistent efforts with a view to the easing of tension between North and South and Korea's peaceful reunification. So far the unconstructive stance of Washington and Seoul remains an obstacle to this. But it cannot continue like that forever. Activeness in the search for paths to peace and security must take over from militarist activeness.

YOMIURI Interviews Gramov on Olympics

SK1207083088 Seoul YONHAP in English
0820 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Tokyo, July 12 (YONHAP)—The Soviet Union has continually recommended North Korea to participate in the Seoul Olympics and will continue to do so, said Marat Gramov, chairman of the Soviet National Sports Committee.

Japan's daily newspaper YOMIURI reported Tuesday in a Moscow-dated article that Gramov, who is concurrently chairman of the Soviet Olympic Committee, made the remark in an interview with the daily.

In the interview, the Soviet sports leader said the Soviet effort to persuade North Korea to participate in the Olympics has failed to make progress so far, and South and North Korea should continue to make efforts so the north can take part in the olympiad.

Gramov, who will lead more than 800 Soviet athletes and officials to the Seoul games slated for Sept. 17-Oct. 2, said the large-scale team plans to arrive in Seoul aboard chartered special airplanes of the Soviet state-run airline, Aeroflot, the Japanese paper reported.

He said the team's supplies, including drinking water, will be transported on a ship which will be at anchor at sea 50 kilometers away from Seoul, the paper reported.

Gramov also said he expects that the Soviet team will be second to none in the Seoul games, pointing out that eight years have passed since the Soviet Union participated in a summer olympiad—the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games.

He refused, however, to say anything about the number of medals his country hopes to win, YOMIURI reported.

Gramov added that the Soviet sports team will fly to Seoul two weeks before the Olympics open, after the Soviet athletes have undergone acclimatization training in the eastern ports of Vladivostok and Khabarovsk, the paper said.

Further On Kim Il-song's Khabarovsk Stopover
PM0707110188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meeting in Khabarovsk"]

[Text] Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee and DPRK president, stopped over in Khabarovsk 4-5 July en route home from Mongolia. There he met with V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The DPRK leader was briefed on the results of the work of the 19th all-union party conference, which opened a new stage in the process of the revolutionary restructuring of Soviet society, in the further improvement of its political structure, and in the development of democracy and glasnost.

Kim Il-song stressed that the forum of Soviet Communists had attracted the attention of the entire world public. Its success was possible thanks to M.S. Gorbachev's great efforts. The WPK Central Committee congratulates the CPSU Central Committee on the successful conclusion of the conference.

During the talk a number of questions of bilateral cooperation were examined on the basis of the accords reached during the Soviet-Korean summit, which gave a new boost to the further deepening and development of USSR-DPRK political and economic relations. The sides stressed their interest in expanding cooperation, reaching new, more progressive, and effective forms of economic collaboration—including the creation of joint enterprises—and establishing direct production ties between corresponding organizations in the two countries. In particular, prospects for the development of production sharing in the sphere of machine building, agriculture, forestry, and construction were examined.

Taking part in the meeting, which was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere, were: on the Soviet side, A.A. Moku, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A.K. Chernyy, first secretary of Khabarovsk CPSU Kraykom; V.I. Potapov, first secretary of Irkutsk CPSU Obkom; V.F. Lutsenko, chairman of Maritime Krayispolkom; and G.G. Bartoshevich, USSR ambassador to the DPRK. The Korean side was represented by Yi Chong-ok, member of the WPK Central Committee Politburo and DPRK vice president; Kim Yong-nam, member of the WPK Central Committee Politburo, vice premier of the Administration Council, and DPRK foreign minister; and Kwon Hui-kyong, DPRK ambassador to the USSR.

Kim Il-song and the officials accompanying him left Khabarovsk for home 5 July.

Japanese Socialist Leader Views USSR Ties
PM0507101788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Jul 88 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent I. Latyshev dispatch: "Takako Doi: Good-neighborliness Is the Only Way. Prospects and Problems of Soviet-Japanese Relations"—boldface paragraph as published]

[Text] Tokyo, 4 Jul—The fresh winds of new thinking and detente are also blowing over Japan. The problem of improving its relations with countries in the socialist world and primarily with the Soviet Union is today discussed more often than before in the press, in parliament, and in the country's business world. Even though there is still no sign of obvious changes in Japanese-Soviet relations, latent positive trends can be discerned in the most diverse spheres. Pleasing news has come in the last few months about the creation of the first Soviet-Japanese joint enterprises in the Soviet Union and the

reaching of several accords between the two countries in the fishing industry sphere. Cooperation between Soviet and Japanese mass media is expanding.

Unfortunately, however, the winds of new thinking and detente have not yet produced any positive changes in Soviet-Japanese relations at state level. And this is by no means due to the Soviet side's unwillingness. The Soviet stance on this question has been precisely expressed in the constructive proposals outlined in M.S. Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech and in his statements at recent meetings with Japanese politicians—Tetsuzo Fuwa, deputy chairman of the Japan Communist Party Central Committee, and Takako Doi, chairman of the Japan Socialist Party [JSP] Central Executive Committee. The improvement of relations with Japan and the strengthening of Soviet-Japanese good-neighborliness is our country's long-term and immutable course.

With a stubbornness that is worthy of better application, Japan's Government is obstructing the improvement of Soviet-Japanese relations, thrusting on the country's public opinion the view of the Soviet Union as "Japan's perpetual enemy."

But peace-loving forces which oppose the Liberal Democrats' present foreign policy course have become noticeably more active in the country in the last few months. The stance taken by the leadership of the JSP, the second most influential force in parliament, is noteworthy in this regard. T. Doi, chairman of the JSP Central Executive Committee, declared in an interview with your correspondent: "On my return from Moscow I met Prime Minister N. Takeshita and briefed him on the results of my trip to the Soviet Union. I made clear my disagreement with the stance taken by the government toward the Soviet Union. After all, even the United States now realizes the need to switch from confrontation to dialogue, to cooperation in establishing coexistence between states with different social systems and different ideologies. West Europe's relations with the Soviet Union are being reexamined along the same lines. A constructive Soviet-Chinese dialogue is developing. In the meantime Japan stands like a mountain, immovable on its old positions.

"What should Japan be doing in today's conditions? Obviously, first it is necessary to put an end to mistrust. It is necessary to strive for open dialogue and, in particular, to at least implement those points of the cultural agreement signed between Japan and the Soviet Union which have not yet been implemented.

"During the meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev I put forward the idea of turning the Sea of Japan into a peace zone. In my view, the Sea of Japan should not be a region of confrontation and military confrontation. It should be a zone of economic, cultural, and scientific cooperation. It is necessary to strive to ensure that interested neighboring countries could enjoy peaceful contacts and cooperate with one another. And this idea

was received by the general secretary with agreement. I also informed Prime Minister Takeshita of this. "I believe," the JSP leader went on, "that restructuring is needed not just by the Soviet Union but by the whole world. Without it, it will be impossible to achieve the elimination of nuclear weapons. After all, the first steps along the path of nuclear disarmament were not in the least a product of the concept of 'nuclear deterrence' and 'nuclear balance,' with its slogan that 'nuclear weapons are needed against nuclear weapons.' Repudiation of this concept is the starting prerequisite for nuclear disarmament and the destruction of nuclear weapons.

"Meanwhile, as Soviet-U.S. accords on disarmament are being implemented, the concept of the 'Soviet military threat' to which Japan is clinging while building up its armaments is becoming less convincing. Japanese people today are primarily concerned about the problems of reducing arms in Asia and the Pacific. The public needs specific steps in this sphere. In my view, for example, Japan ought to channel its diplomatic efforts toward turning Asia and the Pacific into a zone free of nuclear weapons. Generally speaking, our country needs to get rid of its biased orientation toward just one of the great powers. We need independence in foreign policy questions. Our diplomacy must be oriented toward cooperation with all countries. There is no other way for us."

These are the views of the leader of the largest party in Japan's parliamentary opposition on the tasks of Japanese foreign policy—views which testify to its fundamental disagreement with the Takeshita government's present foreign policy course, a course running contrary to the mood of the peace-loving public.

Rogachev Interviewed On Ties With Japan
LD0707091488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1850 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Routine Soviet-Japanese consultations have been held in Moscow between the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Japanese Foreign Ministry. On the Soviet side, they were conducted by Igor Alekseyevich Rogachev, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs. This is what he said in an interview with our correspondent:

[Begin recording] [Unnamed correspondent] Igor Alekseyevich, could you describe the basic questions discussed during the recent Soviet-Japanese consultations?

[Rogachev] During these talks there was a discussion of a very broad circle of questions. We discussed our political contacts, commercial and economic links, scientific and technical links, relations in fishing, and cultural contacts. A great deal of attention was paid to discussing the world situation. We compared Soviet and Japanese views. We discussed disarmament problems. The situation in Asia-Pacific region was emphasized. Naturally, we discussed the situation on the Korean peninsula. Korea is our neighbor. When I say our, I mean

the neighbor of both the Soviet Union and Japan. We discussed other regional conflicts, particularly the situation in Cambodia, the status of the Afghan settlement, and other questions.

[Correspondent] During the talks, on what matters were the Soviet and Japanese stands similar?

[Rogachev] If you mean international problems, then naturally both we and our partner, Deputy Foreign Minister Kuriyama, highly appraised the Soviet-U.S. summit and the decisions made at that meeting, the continuing Soviet-U.S. and East-West dialogue, progress on disarmament, seen primarily in the signing of the treaty scrapping two classes of nuclear missiles.

In discussing bilateral relations we expressed to our Japanese partners the Soviet Union's sincere desire to establish good-neighborly relations with Japan and the Japanese people. We think highly of Japan's achievements in developing its industry, science and technology—indeed the latest technology. We think that between our countries relations of cooperation can and must be attained. Overall, I would say that on the Japanese side we also heard a declaration of intentions to improve the broaden relations with the Soviet Union, but here the Japanese representative had certain reservations.

[Correspondent] About what?

[Rogachev] Mainly, Kuriyama—and of course it is not just Kuriyama, but other Japanese officials also raise this problem—mentioned the so-called problem of the northern territories.

[Correspondent] Igor Alekseyevich, could you please review this problem for our listeners?

[Rogachev] The essence of the problem is that the Japanese, for a number of years, have been saying that the southern section of the Kurile chain—two big islands, Kunashir and Iturup, and two small islands, Habomai and Shikotan—should belong to Japan. The Soviet Union has proceeded and still proceeds from the position that the question of these islands was decided by international agreements in the war and post-war period.

[Correspondent] Igor Alekseyevich, considering what has been said previously, how would you describe the state of and prospects for Soviet-Japanese relations?

[Rogachev] We undoubtedly have something to tell the Soviet people in the area of developing Soviet-Japanese relations recently. These relations have not stagnated. A list of events that have taken place in the last few months includes the session of the intergovernmental commission for scientific and technical cooperation; the fishing talks, the Soviet-Japanese Committee for Economic Cooperation session; and that of the Japanese-Soviet Committee for Economic Cooperation. All of these sessions and conferences have yielded fair results.

Recently in the north of Irkutsk Oblast the first Soviet-Japanese business enterprise was commissioned: Igirma Tairiku. This enterprise produces high quality timber materials. We think it will be possible to reach agreement with our Japanese partners on the opening of a whole series of new joint enterprises. We are studying new forms of cooperation: production coordination, leasing of equipment, and others.

But we can only be alarmed that official Japanese circles very frequently approach the development of relations with the Soviet Union by trying to link the development of practical ties with the solution of political problems, indeed with that very problem of the so-called northern territories. Recently at the conference of the seven major capitalist countries in Toronto the Japanese leader tried to raise the question for discussion by the heads of government of the seven countries. This can only cause surprise among Soviet people. We see this as an attempt to internationalize the question.

It is thought that we have good prospects for developing relations with Japan. The potential for developing these ties is very large. Soviet-Japanese relations lag behind the overall international trend. For example, the volume of our ties with Japan is considerably behind the volume of ties with a whole range of West European countries. Our basic assumption is that the Soviet Union has an interest in relations with Japan no less than Japan has in relations with us. If we solve the questions of Soviet-Japanese relations on the basis of the principles of equality, reciprocal benefit, without discrimination and without any preliminary conditions, then things will go well.

[Correspondent] Thank you. Turning to specific accords, what would you like to single out?

[Rogachev] One of the accords that we reached in past consultations is that in September during the 43d UN General Assembly session, the two ministers, Comrade Shevardnadze and Japanese foreign Minister Uno, will meet in New York. In all probability that conversation will deal with the timing of the forthcoming official visit by Comrade Shevardnadze to Japan. But we need to work on that. It is worth working on to create a good atmosphere in bilateral Soviet-Japanese relations. [end recording]

Japan Increases Military Budget

LD0907143988 Moscow TASS in English 2039 GMT
8 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 8 TASS—TASS political news analyst Askold Biryukov writes:

Japan's National Defence Agency decided to request the government to provide in the national budget for the fiscal 1989 a 7 percent increase in outlays "for defence". This new increase in the military spending is being justified by the Defence Agency, among other things, by

the "need" for a steady build-up of Japan's military potential to enable it to "fill a corresponding international role", the "ASAHI" newspaper says.

The question of the kind of "international role" to be filled by Japan which is about to rank third in the world by the level of its military spending and continues to build its military muscle is of serious concern to the public of the countries of the Asia-Pacific region. Recently, the head of the Japanese military department Tsutomu Kawara, who visited Indonesia, Singapore and Hong Kong, attempted to dispel the apprehensions on this score there. He tried to reassure his interlocutors that Japan is not going to become a military power and is building up its military potential only in order to "handle the Soviet military threat in East Asia".

Kawara's protestations did not sound altogether plausible in the countries of the Asia-Pacific region. The fact is that those countries received with understanding and satisfaction the USSR's constructive programme to further peace, security, stability, and cooperation in the region, as well as the Soviet initiatives for its practical implementation. And the recent interview by the Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov to the KYODO TSUSHIN news agency did not pass unnoticed in those countries. Yazov authoritatively stated that the land forces of the USSR in the Asia-Pacific region are not being increased but are, on the contrary, being reduced and that the Soviet Union is prepared for talks on a further reduction of the Armed Forces and adoption of confidence-building measures on the basis of reciprocity. "What the USSR wants in this region," the Soviet minister said, "is not war but trade."

And as to the sounding-the-ground exercise undertaken by Kawara in those countries in order to involve some of them in participating, together with the USA and Japan, in "ensuring security" of the international sea routes, including Malacca and Lombok Straits, left them wondering and concerned.

The "JAKARTA POST" newspaper speaks out in this connection in the same spirit, i.e. that in ensuring the security of sea routes Japan ought not to rely exclusively on the United States but should rather seek to establish constructive relations with the ASEAN countries and the Soviet Union for the attainment of this objective.

"SUARA KARYA", another Indonesian paper, for its part, commenting on Japan's military dependence on the USA, warns that the U.S. armed involvement in guarding the strategic sea routes in South East Asia "may turn that region into a zone of military confrontation between superpowers".

Politicians of those countries spoke out concerning the statements of Kawara in a similar vein. Lee Kuan Yew, prime minister of Singapore, told him that Tokyo should not aspire to the status of the "patron" of the region. The ASEAN countries, he pointed out, still remember the

Second World War, and it would be better for Japan if it dispelled their alarm concerning the possibility of its being transformed into a military power. "We believe, the FRANCE PRESSE news agency quotes Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, that the only contribution of Japan should remain its economic assistance to the region since economic stability and prosperity in South-east Asia also meet the security interests of Japan." [punctuation as received]

The study of public opinion shows, says the Japanese "MAINICHI DAILY NEWS", that the countries of the region are still concerned over the prospect of Japan becoming a great military power. The new request of Japan's Defence Agency for a further increase in military appropriations only serves to heighten that feeling of alarm.

Minister Seeks More Joint Ventures with Japan
*OW1007094588 Tokyo KYODO in English 0803 GMT
10 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow, July 10 KYODO—The Soviet Union wants Japanese high-technology manufacturers to establish joint venture firms, particularly in such fields as steelmaking and computers, a top Soviet economic official said.

Konstantin Katushev, Soviet minister of foreign economic relations, said in an interview with KYODO News Service Saturday that only three joint ventures have been established between the two countries and their size is small.

But the United States, West Germany and France are negotiating with the Soviets about their plans to set up bigger joint ventures.

Japanese firms are invited to take a greater interest in machinery production, including computers, under joint ventures with their Soviet counterparts, the minister said.

But he said he understands Japanese businesses want to begin with small joint venture operations on a step-by-step basis.

Katushev suggested the Soviet Union will deal more flexibly with a Japanese economic mission, scheduled to visit Moscow this fall, including the revision of its present joint venture law.

Under the law enacted in January last year, he said 62 joint ventures have been established, with aggregate capital amounting to 350 million rubles and a total Russian work force of about 100 persons. Of the total, 30 joint ventures are related to machinery production and West Germany is ranked first with 10 firms, followed by Finland, Italy and the U.S.

Some 300 other joint venture offers are being negotiated between Russian firms and their foreign counterparts, including 15 with Japanese, he said.

He said three Russo-Japanese joint ventures comprise one in the lumber field and two others in the fishery and marine products areas.

Regarding the creation of special economic zones like those in China, Katushev said he is studying the Chinese example and plans to formulate a basic concept on establishing such zones shortly.

Japan Develops Economic Ties with USSR, PRC
OW1207063488 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1000 GMT 2 Jul 88

[From "Soviet Far East News" program]

[Excerpts] Here is a dispatch from Khabarovsk City. First, we will talk about a Soviet-Japanese economic meeting.

A Soviet-Japanese economic meeting was held in Khabarovsk City in June. The meeting was attended by representatives of the Export-Import Bank of Japan, the Tokyo Bank, and the economic research institute for the area around the Sea of Japan and officials of [words indistinct] on the Japanese side; on the Soviet side were executive committee members of Khabarovsk Kray, Maritime Kray, Sakhalin Oblast, and Kamchatka Oblast, scholars of the Economic Studies Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Far Eastern Scientific Center, and chiefs of various factories in Khabarovsk Kray.

Mr Hisao Kanamori, head of the Japanese delegation, made the following remarks to a station reporter:

[Begin Kanamori recording] [Passage omitted] Perestroika is now being implemented here. Therefore, we are here to see how it is actually being carried out. We intend to hear various views of experts. In addition to Khabarovsk City, we will visit Tbilisi and Moscow. In Moscow, we would like to visit [words indistinct] and major scientific and economic research organizations to hear the views of scholars. This is one of our purposes. We also intend to explain the various conditions in Japan as best we can. At today's meeting, I explained the situation in Japan. When visiting Moscow, I would also like to explain the changes taking place in Japan.

I met with Khabarovsk Kray and City deputies as well as the mayor of the city yesterday. I also visited the Economic Studies Institute. I attended the seminar today and heard various views. I am quite satisfied with my visit. In particular, I have been deeply impressed by the Soviet eagerness to develop economic relations between Khabarovsk—that is, the Soviet Far East—and Japan. [passage omitted]

As was discussed at today's meeting, I think there is room for developing exchanges in fields other than trade, such as tourism. This is because Khabarovsk has rich tourist resources. For example, it would be nice to set up a tourist center for this purpose. Moreover as was also discussed at today's meeting, we hope to develop economic relations not only between Japan and the Soviet Union but also with China. By so doing, we will be able to further promote trade activities. [passage omitted] [end Kanamori recording]

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Prince Norodom Sihanouk Resigns
LD1107133088 Moscow TASS in English 1252 GMT
11 Jul 88

[Text] Tokyo July 11 TASS—TASS correspondent Vasily Golovnin reports:

Prince Norodom Sihanouk announced his resignation from the post of president of the so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea uniting three emigrant groups opposed to the People's Kampuchea Government.

In a statement published today Sihanouk said the reasons for his resignation were serious. He also notified that he had cancelled his visits to Japan and ASEAN countries and was moving to France, his new place of exile, KYODO TSUSHIN said.

Observers in Bangkok are surprised at this unexpected move of Sihanouk who already announced his resignation in January this year, but officially retracted his decision later.

Cambodian, SRV Foreign Ministers Meet
LD1107104188 Moscow TASS in English 0906 GMT
11 Jul 88

[Text] Phnom Penh July 11 TASS—The successes scored by the Kampuchean people over the past nine years in the cause of defense of the revolutionary gains and positive changes in the world and regional situation open up real prospects for the political solution of the Kampuchean problem, for strengthening stability in Southeast Asia. This opinion was unanimously expressed during the meeting between Hun Sen, member of the Political Bureau of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and foreign minister of Kampuchea, and Nguyen Co Thach, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party and minister of foreign affairs of Vietnam. The Vietnamese foreign minister stayed in Kampuchea on a visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and the Council of Ministers as a special representative of Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, VIA news agency reports.

The sides stated that despite persisting difficulties in the life of the country, Kampuchea is capable of dealing with the national defense questions on its own. This is evidenced in the withdrawal from Kampuchean territory of 50,000 Vietnamese volunteers. This step, the ministers stress, is a boost to the international prestige of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean state and testifies to Vietnam's respect for Kampuchea's independence and sovereignty.

On the informal meeting of the Kampuchean sides in Jakarata, the ministers expressed the hope that it would serve the political settlement of the Kampuchean problem in the interests of strengthening peace and stability in Southeast Asia. At the same time, they evaluated the position of ASEAN foreign ministers, which hampers attempts at organising the Jakarta meeting, as one worth of regret on the part of the world community.

Hun Sen and Nguyen Co Thach stressed the importance of the Vietnamese-Indonesian agreement, signed in Ho Chi Minh City on July 29 last year, for solving regional problems and resolutely rejected any possibility of turning the Jakarta meeting into talks between Vietnam and the Kampuchean sides.

The foreign ministers exchanged views on the questions of development of all-round cooperation between the parties and peoples of the two countries in the cause of building socialism and defense of the revolutionary gains, the struggle for peace in Southeast Asia and throughout the world.

During the visit Nguyen Co Thach was received by Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, VIA reports.

KPRP Plenary Meeting Reported

LD0707210088 Moscow TASS in English 1530 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] Phnom Penh July 7 TASS—The Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea held a plenary meeting to sum up the results of the first six months of domestic development and defense of revolutionary achievements of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Guidelines were set for the activity of state and party organs in order to strengthen the Republic.

The Central Committee took a decision to set up a state and private sector in the national economy. It is planned to convene a nation-wide conference to overview the current situation and make relevant recommendations.

The plenary meeting considered organisational issues. Sar Kheng, secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and head of the office of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, and Say Chhun,

deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Kampuchea and minister of agriculture, were elected alternate members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea. Say Phuthang, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and chairman of the Party Control Committee, and Say Chhun were elected secretaries of the Central Committee.

Gromyko Receives Lao Ambassador

LD0607023388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1708 GMT 5 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko received today in the Kremlin Khamphong Phanvongsa, ambassador of the Lao People's Democratic republic to the USSR, at the latter's request. [video shows Gromyko and Lao ambassador in conversation; they are seated on opposite sides of a table with three unidentified men seated on Gromyko's side]

The purpose of the ambassador's visit was to obtain firsthand information on the outcome of the 19th all-union party conference, to discuss the state of Soviet-Lao relations and some international issues relating to the countries of Asian-Pacific region. [video continues to show amicable discussion in progress, Lao ambassador speaking through interpreter]

Comrade Gromyko spoke about the progress and the outcome of the 19th all-union party conference. The collocutors expressed satisfaction with the state of Soviet-Lao relations. They noted that the close comradeship ties and the cooperation between the CPSU and the Lao People's Revolutionary party and the regular meetings between the leaders of the two countries are of crucial significance for consolidating the ties of friendship and for further deepening bilateral relations.

The ambassador examined in detail the entire complex of relations between Laos and adjacent states, singling out friendly relations with fraternal Vietnam and Cambodia.

On behalf of the government and the people, the ambassador expressed gratitude to the Soviet Union for the concrete assistance it renders in developing the Lao national economy. [video shows closeups of Gromyko and Lao ambassador]

Asia-Pacific Roundtable Conference Reported

LD0507224588 Moscow TASS in English 1614 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] Kuala Lumpur July 5 TASS—TASS correspondent Stanislav Bychkov reports:

"I disagree with the assertion that the idea of ASEAN member countries to turn Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, free from nuclear weapons is an illusion", said Indonesia's former foreign minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja who took part in the second Asia-Pacific Round Table Conference here.

Chief U.S. negotiator at the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms in Geneva, Max Kampelman, described ASEAN plans to achieve the creation of such a zone in Southeast Asia as an "illusion". And U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Gaston Sigur described such plans as eroding the interests of security of peoples of the region.

"It will, certainly, not be easy to reach the goal set", the prominent Indonesian political leader said in an interview to the TASS correspondent. "But our intentions are quite feasible. It only takes effort to achieve them".

In the opinion of Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, the productivity of the new round of East-West dialogue, the improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations create the necessary conditions for the solution of the problem of Kampuchea, and for the improvement of the international climate in Southeast Asia which, in turn, will serve as a basis for the creation of secure and nuclear weapons free Southeast Asia.

Rogachev Receives Philippines Delegation 7 Jul
LD0807103788 Moscow TASS in English 0934 GMT
8 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 8 TASS—Igor Rogachev, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, received on July 7 a delegation of Philippine congress staying in the USSR on an official visit. The delegation is led by Senator O. Mercado.

During the conversation they discussed problems of the Asia-Pacific region and possible measures to be taken for bringing down the level of military confrontation and tension in that region. The Soviet Union's initiatives aimed at consolidating trust, reducing naval activity in the Pacific and eliminating foreign military presence and military bases on other countries' territory were explained to the Philippine guests. The sides went on record in favour of a further development of cooperation between the USSR and the Philippines in various spheres.

Gromyko Receives Philippines Senators
LD0707120988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Reception In the Kremlin"]

[Text] A.A. Gromyko received 4 July in the Kremlin a delegation from the Philippine Congress headed by Orlando Mercado, leader of the Senate majority. The Philippine congressmen are in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

In the course of a friendly and frank conversation, A.A. Gromyko spoke at the guests' request about the 19th all-union party conference and the views of the Soviet leadership on the development of relations between the two countries and also on a number of major international problems.

The Philippine guests paid most attention to the party forum that has just ended. Talking about the 19th all-union party conference, A.A. Gromyko stated that it is of exceptional importance for all Soviet society. The main result of the Soviet Communists' conference is that the strategy of restructuring in all spheres of the economy, social practice, and the political system is being given concrete substance. Extremely important plans have been outlined for the future. Far-reaching measures have been planned for the democratization of society and the party.

We intend to move even more rapidly toward the goals which have been set by the party. We will cover the entire path in conditions of broad glasnost so that full use can be made of the possibilities of our socialist system. In other words, the course of the 19th all-union party conference is Lenin's course. This was convincingly shown by the report and the speeches given by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the conference and the entire spirit of democracy which prevailed at each session during delegates' speeches and, particularly, during the elaboration of the resolutions.

The significance of the broad Soviet foreign policy initiatives aimed at freeing mankind of all kinds of mass destruction weapons, above all nuclear weapons, and at creating an all-embracing system of international security was explained to the Philippine guests.

The interlocutors gave a high assessment of the USSR-U.S. Moscow summit, which initiated concrete actions in the nuclear disarmament sphere. Moreover, O. Mercado pointed out that people in the Philippines had been pleased to hear that groups of Soviet and U.S. experts have already arrived in the United States the USSR respectively to verify the elimination of the missiles.

Close attention was paid during the conversation to the situation in the Asia-Pacific region. The Philippine side assessed highly the USSR's Vladivostok initiative. A.A. Gromyko explained the essence of the Soviet approach to the problems of Asian security. The Soviet Union wants to see the vast Asia and Pacific Ocean region at peace, flourishing, rid of regional conflicts. Our country, A.A. Gromyko said, intends to actively promote the organization of multifaceted trade and economic and scientific and technical cooperation in this region—cooperation open to everyone.

In connection with the question of military bases raised by the Philippine side, A.A. Gromyko mentioned the well-known Soviet position on recalling troops and bases from foreign territories.

O. Mercado: What is your attitude to the insurgent activity in the Philippines?

A.A. Gromyko: Since the time of Lenin, noninterference in states' internal affairs has been an important integral part of our foreign policy. Noninterference, noninterference, and once again noninterference. We have always been guided by this principle and we are guided by it now. Thus we only strengthen relations with foreign countries.

Opinions were exchanged on questions of developing Soviet-Philippine relations. Their progressive character, which undoubtedly not only accords with the interests of the two peoples but also promotes the consolidation of world peace, was pointed out here. The Soviet Union, A.A. Gromyko stressed, favors the activation of Soviet-Philippine cooperation in all spheres, including the expansion of exchanges at parliamentary level and exchanges of public delegations, various special interest groups, and individuals.

The Soviet and Philippine sides expressed the intention of bringing the potential for bilateral cooperation more actively into play.

On behalf of the delegation O. Mercado expressed cordial gratitude for the reception and the explanation of questions of interest to the delegation.

To conclude the conversation A.A. Gromyko sent best wishes to Philippine President Corazon Aquino and also best wishes for the prosperity and progress to the Philippine people.

The following were present during the conversation: P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; O.M. Sokolov, USSR ambassador to the Philippines; and Alejandro Melchor, Philippine ambassador to the USSR.

Soviet Delegation Arrives in Singapore
LD1007123988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0708 GMT 10 Jul 88

[Text] Singapore, 10 Jul (TASS)—A Soviet Government delegation led by Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, arrived today in Singapore. It stopped there on its way home after a visit to Australia.

The delegation looked at the work of the Moscow Narodny Bank branch in Singapore and of the joint Soviet-Singaporean companies Sinsov and Marissco.

Kamentsev Ends Visit to Singapore
LD1107133588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] A Soviet Government delegation, led by Comrade Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, has ended its visit to Singapore. The delegation was received by Dhanabalan, Singapore's minister of foreign affairs and national development. Talks which took place discussed the state of and prospects for developing bilateral relations, and exchanged views on topical international problems, including those concerning the consolidation of peace and stability in the Asian and Pacific Ocean region.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Rebels Reportedly Intensify Activities

Rebels 'Review' Refugee Issue
LD0907130088 Moscow TASS in English 1150 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 9 TASS—Despite the Geneva accords, the Pakistani authorities interfere, as before, with a return of Afghan refugees home. They use both psychological pressure and punitive measures to prevent mass repatriation. On July 1 when 65 refugees went in the direction of the Afghan border across the Matasangar pass (Pakistan), Afghan extremists with the permission of local authorities launched an armed attack on them. As a result, 26 refugees were killed, and the rest were forcibly returned to the camp. Armed posts of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan and other opposition organizations put under their control virtually all the main routes which can be used by refugees for their return to Afghanistan. In many cases Pakistani frontier posts and police hand over detained refugees to extremists who "punish them in edification for other Afghans".

Population of Pakistani cities and villages living near Afghan camps abide by another point of view on the problem of refugees' return. The Pakistani people stand out for fulfilling the Geneva agreements and dismantling refugee camps. There are numerous facts when Pakistanis organize rallies and demonstrations during which they demand that the authorities settle at the earliest the Afghan problem and create conditions for a return of Afghans home.

Some data indicate that several leaders of the opposition review their attitude to the question of refugees. For instance, Ahmad Shah Mas'ud discussed this problem at one of meetings where he found it possible to permit some Afghans to return to Panjsher. There is some easing of the position taken by the leadership of the National Liberation Front of Afghanistan. The Commissariat on Affairs of Afghan Refugees in Peshawar drafted a document under which on July 10 some 3,000 families are to

leave camps controlled by the organization near the city of Quetta, Qandahar province, and 2,800 families from the Camp Kachagali to Nangarhar.

Reject Cordovez Plan

LD1107172088 Moscow TASS in English 1534 GMT
11 Jul 88

["Afghanistan—TASS Comment"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow July 11 TASS—By TASS commentator Valeriy Vavilov:

The die-hard opposition has been rejecting all proposals for a ceasefire, for an end to fratricidal bloodletting in long-suffering Afghanistan.

The leaders of the "Peshawar Seven" have been giving a cold-shoulder to all sensible proposals, no matter whence they come.

They have been ignoring Kabul's repeated attempts to set up talks for forming a coalition government and refusing to take senior posts in it, even though that would help put an end to the war and finally embark on building a new, sovereign, independent, neutral and non-aligned Afghanistan.

The broadest-based government, as proposed by Kabul, would, in the meantime, offer a portfolio and responsibilities for any Afghan figure sincerely in love with his fatherland and really concerned about its destiny.

The leaders of the "Alliance of the Seven" have rejected a plan by U.N. special representative Diego Cordovez who has urged an end to hostilities from September 1 so as to get down to working out a peace settlement by using methods traditional for Afghanistan.

Demonstrating his intransigent stance, the leader of the so-called interim government of Afghan mujahidin, Ahmad Shah, turned down the U.N. official's proposals, declaring that the mujahidin would continue the armed struggle even after all the Soviet troops were withdrawn and until the present Kabul government was overthrown.

He claimed that only the mujahidin could decide Afghanistan's future and they would never agree to a ceasefire with the communists.

Continued war, continued fratricidal bloodshed and no peace talks remains the creed of the crusading opposition. Its armed groups, which have been armed in Pakistan and trained at special centers in Pakistani territory by Pakistani, American and French instructors in defiance of the Geneva agreements, keep committing their atrocities.

The death toll from their crimes is growing every day as rockets fall on the streets of Kabul and other cities and car bombs explode in crowded bazaars, bringing death to Afghans and destroying their houses, schools and mosques.

The die-hards today are planning to capture big cities and seeking to start cooperation with the Afghan opposition in Iran, by sending their representatives from Peshawar.

But their attempts to seize even a single major populated locality have been foiled by the Armed Forces of Kabul. The Afghan Army has been befittingly repulsing the opposition units and maintaining control over all the cities whose fall has been groundlessly announced by the propaganda of "the Seven".

The national reconciliation policy as the natural way to restore peace and calm to Afghanistan is winning over even militant fanatics who have fought the Kabul authorities for many years.

More and more often Afghan armed opposition units are laying down weapons, discontinuing combat activities contrary to orders from Peshawar and joining the common process of national reconciliation.

This is symptomatic since the policy of continuing the war, terror and sabotage has no future.

Afghan Army Successes Cited

LD0907141488 Moscow TASS in English 0918 GMT
9 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 9 TASS—The Afghan Armed Forces continue inflicting strikes on extremist units of the armed opposition. As a result of an able operation in Gowshtah District, Nangarhar province, they destroyed an armed group of irreconcilable opposition numbering 33 people. A great quantity of weapons was seized.

The BAKHTAR agency reports that in Sorhrud District army units actively backed by local population routed an armed group from opposition units led by Y. Hales. According to another report of the agency, an armed opposition group of 14 was captured in Qandahar Province. Documents indicating their affiliation with foreign centres of irreconcilable opposition were found on them. They also had a great quantity of ground-to-ground missiles and other weapons.

A jirgah of peace was held in Parvan Province where local residents expressed full support for the policy of national reconciliation carried out in the country and for the Geneva accords.

A jirgah of chiefs and elders of border tribes which was held in Gardeyz, the administrative centre of Paktia province, took a decision to render assistance to refugees returning home.

Situation Aggravated

LD1107103288 Moscow TASS in English 0953 GMT
11 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 11 TASS—By TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin:

The past few days were marked by an aggravation of the military-political situation in Afghanistan, which was primarily caused by the intensification of the activities of the irreconcilable opposition. Settlements in provinces Vardak, Bamian, Laghman, Paktia, Nangarhar, Konar, Qandahar and others came under artillery and rocket fire. [Moscow TASS in English at 1507 GMT on 10 July, in a similar report, renders the previous sentence as follows: "Populated areas in Vardak, Bamian, Kabul, Laghman, Paktia, Nangarhar, Konar, Qandahar and other provinces were shelled by artillery and rocket weapons."] In Samangan Province alone, shelling and raids on villages left 29 people killed, including seven women and 16 children. In all, more than 150 civilians have been killed or wounded in the past few days.

At the same time arms shipment from Pakistan to the territory of Afghanistan continues. In the past two days two convoys of 350 pack animals delivered huge amounts of weapons and ammunition in the suburbs of the town of Talukan. More than 500 rocket projectiles were brought to Sorhrud District from Pakistan's border areas. It is possible that some of them were fired at the district center on Saturday killing five people. Representatives of the "supplier" see to it that the arms turned over to the rebels are used "properly". Several foreign advisers are reportedly on the territory of Parvan Province at present. They are holding inspections of the Jamiyat-e Eslami units, paying special attention to the efforts of arms storage at warehouses. At the same time the area is being thoroughly reconnoitred. A group of Hezb-e Eslami militants, armed with stinger shoulder-fired anti-aircraft rockets and ground-to-ground missiles, have arrived in the same province from Pakistan. According to available information, the growing activity of rebels in Parvan is linked to the plans to attack and seize Bagram Airport.

Thousands of Jalalabad residents went out into the streets to protest against the atrocities committed by rebels against civilians. The protestors wrathfully condemned the recent terrorist act by the extremists when, as is known, a car explosion ripped through downtown Jalalabad killing and wounding more than 60 people. Speakers at a rally held after the demonstration said that the criminal actions of the antigovernment groups impeded Afghanistan's movement towards peace and tranquility. The only way leading out of the bloody internal conflict is national reconciliation rather than blind terror, the speakers pointed out.

In retaliation, the Afghan Armed Forces eliminated groups of extremists in a number of provinces. Several dozen opposition members were killed in combat operations in provinces Vardak, Herat and Nangarhar.

Local security forces held a large operation to rout antigovernment groups in Helmand Province. It is reported that troops were led by civilian population to the fortifications of the extremists in the mountainous region of Kuhestan and dislodged them after the battle. The enemy was dispersed. As a result of the operation a large amount of weapons, including mortars, recoilless guns, mountain anti-aircraft systems, rocket projectiles and launchers was seized. In another region of the province one more rebel group was routed leaving behind on the battlefield not only weapons but also several trucks, used to bring weapons from Iran. Extremists sustain heavy casualties not only in the battles against government troops, but also in clashes between themselves. Rebels from Jamiyat-e Eslami and Harakat-e Enqelabi Eslami clashed in bloody skirmishes in Helmand caused by contradictions over the division of spheres of influence. More than 20 rebels were killed and wounded.

Despite tensions in the country, refugees continue returning. Some 100 people have returned to Nangarhar Province from Pakistan. Local authorities rendered material assistance to the returnees and provided transport to take them to places of their permanent residence.

Ziaul Haq Assurances to Cordovez Doubted

LD0907155388 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1236 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow 8 Jul (TASS)—TASS observer Valeriy Vavilov writes:

At a meeting in Islamabad, Pakistan President Ziaul Haq assured Diego Cordovez, personal representative of the UN secretary general, that "observing the letter and spirit of the Geneva agreements is the firm decision of the Pakistani Government."

What fine and reassuring words. How nice it would be to believe in their sincerity. After all, a very great deal depends on Islamabad's position in the process of a political settlement. Pakistan's unswerving observance of the Geneva agreements would exclude its intervening in the internal affairs of neighboring and sovereign Afghanistan, would put an end to the excesses of Afghan armed opposition detachments, cut off the roads of its arms and ammunition supplies, and facilitate the return to their homeland of millions of Afghan refugees.

However, the assurances of the Pakistani leaders are in blatant contradiction to the reality and the facts of Islamabad's direct violation of the Geneva agreements. The Pakistan president has, according to press reports, fought at a meeting with the leaders of the "Peshawar Seven" for stepping up their actions aimed at overthrowing the present Kabul regime and creating a "truly Islamic state." His subordinates, who give direct instructions to the Afghan opposition leaders, operate in the same spirit, far from that of the Geneva agreements.

Thus, at a conference in Quetta, the governor of Baluchistan set perfectly specific tasks before the rebels on the instructions of the Pakistani Government: to conduct subversive and terrorist acts aimed at destabilizing the situation in Afghanistan by blowing up schools, homes, and bridges, and destroying state enterprises and establishments.

The matter is in no way confined to appeals: Not only have the Pakistani authorities not stopped the operations of the Afghan armed opposition headquarters, nor placed a ban on continuing the military training of armed groups, but they encourage such activities, bringing in Pakistani instructors, and even Pakistani troop units and paramilitary formations. The weapon stores and ammunition stocks of the Pakistani Armed Forces are widely used to supply the groups. Weapons, ammunition, and food are transferred from Peshawar to temporary storage in the major district of Jaji in Pakistani Army vehicles from there it is sent to group members in the Ghazni, Maydan, and Lowgar provinces.

Several days ago, Islamabad sent a large batch of weaponry and ammunition that had just reached Karachi from the United States, to the leadership of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan"—one of the armed groupings of the "Alliance of Seven." What the rebels received included 120-millimeter mortars, "Stinger" missile complexes, and "surface-to-surface" missiles. These weapons are now being transferred, not without the mediation of the Pakistani authorities, to the opposition's armed detachments operating in Qandahar province.

According to press reports, Pakistani officers are even included in the "inspection groups" on Afghan territory, and are engaged in the immediate leadership of the opposition's military operations.

How should the words and assurances of the Pakistani leaders on observance of the Geneva agreements be assessed? Hard facts cannot be refuted with words. Another approach is required—the cessation of any intervention in the affairs of the sovereign Afghan state. This is the way out of the fratricidal war deadlock.

Pakistani Servicemen Reported in Afghan Combat
LD0907111188 Moscow TASS in English 1027 GMT
9 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 9 TASS—In violation of the Geneva accords, the Ziaul Haq regime continues to render assistance to the opposition "Alliance of Seven" in shipping arms and ammunition from Pakistan to Afghan territory and in the combat training of rebels. Numerous facts substantiate this. According to competent bodies, several so-called "convoys of terror" of up to 400 pack animals, loaded with weapons and ammunition, were concentrated in the area of Afghan city Pol-e Khomri. They are intended for the detachments of the armed opposition in provinces Baghlan, Konduz and Takhar. The convoys came from Pakistan.

A shipment of a 12-gun rocket launcher and rocket projectiles with increased range was delivered to the area of Chirikara [name as received] for rebels from the Islamic party of Afghanistan. Twelve experts on its combat use arrived with the convoy. Convoys with weapons also arrived on July 3 in the area of Panjsher and Sindintar [name as received], Parwan province.

A convoy with arms, escorted by 100 security guards, from Parachinar, Kurram district, in Pakistan reached Bazar-Badahshi, in Kapisa province. A group of foreign advisers also arrived with it to study the situation in the province and work out recommendations for the nearest future. A large shipment of arms and ammunition was delivered from the town of Miram Shah, northern Waziristan, Pakistan, to Kalay Siah, Parwan region. New transshipment centres, ensuring the reception of convoys from Pakistan, were uncovered on the territory of this province.

Facts are also reported indicating that Pakistani nationals were involved in combat operations in Afghanistan. A group of Pakistani servicemen is expected shortly in the town of Gardiz to take part in combat operations on the side of rebels. To this end, 440 rocket projectiles and 200 shells for 120-mm howitzers were delivered from the party's central depots in Pakistan to the Kashmir-Khanled group of extremists.

The party's headquarters in Pakistan has sent a 20-man-strong team, including three Pakistani officers, on an "inspection tour" of Nangarhar province. They are currently in the area of Pachiro-Agam [spelling as received]. The task of the group is to check the fighting efficiency of armed opposition groups.

The same headquarters has issued an instruction recalling rebels, earlier trained in the use of 120-mm mortars, from Afghanistan to Peshawar to attend a refresher course to study other types of heavy guns.

Afghan UN Envoy Protests Pakistani Violations
LD1107235088 Moscow TASS in English 2220 GMT
11 Jul 88

[Text] New York July 11 TASS—The president of Pakistan intends to undermine the Geneva accords on Afghanistan and harbours the plans of overthrowing the government in Kabul with the use of armed opposition and of eliminating the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan. This is said in a letter that Afghanistan's permanent representative to the United Nations Shah Muhammad Dost sent to the United Nations secretary-general.

Speaking in Islamabad at the final meeting of the international conference on questions of national stability and regional security in South Asia, Ziaul Haq openly admitted that he was not going to abandon interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs. The letter emphasizes

that he continues upholding such a stand even during the stay in the region of Diego Cordovez, special envoy of the U.N. secretary-general on settlement of the situation relating to Afghanistan.

The message says that such statements by Ziaul Haq are nothing new. Extremist groups come out with statements now and again about the deadline for the seizure of certain provinces. But their recent defeats in Zabol, Kam [name as received], Spin Buldak and other districts have taught them a lesson they will remember for long. The hostile forces are unable to oppose the Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan.

At the same time, it is precisely because of the obstacles placed by the Pakistani authorities and extremist groups that Afghan refugees come up against many problems in returning home. The agreements that are a major achievement of all the parties concerned, including the two great powers, and that are a source of hopes for the Afghan people exhausted by war are being flouted.

The letter circulated as an official document of the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council contains a request to all the parties concerned to urge Pakistan to observe the Geneva accords whose noble goals are in keeping with humankind's striving for peace.

Afghan Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Coalition
*LD1207092388 Moscow TASS in English 2215 GMT
11 Jul 88*

[Text] Kabul July 11 TASS—The transition to a coalition form of government is one of the tasks of the policy of national reconciliation now implemented in Afghanistan, said a spokesman for Afghanistan's Foreign Ministry. Commenting on some publications in the Western press concerning the question of forming a coalition government, he said: "For the sake of ending bloodshed we have confirmed more than once our readiness to enter without any preliminary conditions talks with all opposition forces, including commanders of armed groups within the country, representatives of the refugees, the leadership of the 'Alliance of the Seven', prominent public leaders and politicians". The Republic of Afghanistan is confident that lowering of the level of military confrontation and combat operations is essential to removing contradictions between Afghans, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said. Practical steps have now been taken toward forming a coalition, and the road to the creation of a coalition government relying on the broadest spectrum of political forces is through a successful implementation of the policy of national reconciliation. We believe that only such an approach to the country's future is feasible, while all other plans, made without taking reality into consideration are doomed to failure, he said.

The BAKHTAR news agency reports the Foreign Ministry spokesman said that precise observance of the Geneva accords, above all, by the Pakistani side, and the

opening of a constructive dialogue of the opposing forces to bring closer their positions are needed to achieve peace in Afghanistan. Conditions will then be created for forming a coalition government of representatives of all the forces interested in peace.

Afghan Left Democratic Bloc Adopts Plan
*LD1007020088 Moscow TASS in English 2059 GMT
9 Jul 88*

[Text] Kabul July 9 TASS—A meeting of the Coordination Council of the Bloc of Left Democratic Parties of Afghanistan was held here today.

The decisions of the 19th CPSU Conference were discussed by leaders of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the revolutionary organization of the working people of Afghanistan and the group Kar (Labour), who took part in it, the BAKHTAR news agency reported.

Adopted at the meeting was the plan of the council's work for the next four months. First secretary of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Organisation of the Working People of Afghanistan Mahbubullah Koshani was elected chairman of the Coordination Council for this period.

Red Cross Official Reports on POW Meeting
*LD0807211488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1400 GMT 8 Jul 88*

[Text] Comrade Venediktov, chairman of the USSR Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent societies, had a meeting with journalists today. The return of the Soviet servicemen taken prisoner by the Afghan armed opposition to their homeland is at the moment, beyond any doubt, one of the most acute and complex issues of the Afghan settlement.

Comrade Venediktov reported on the main areas of that work and on his recent meeting in Geneva with Sommaruga, president of the International Red Cross Committee, handing him a list with the names of 313 missing persons. Joint measures on energetic search for the captives have been mapped out. Hope was expressed that information on their whereabouts and their fate can be obtained shortly through joint efforts.

Soviet Envoy to Kabul on POW's in Pakistan
*LD1107080588 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0442 GMT
11 Jul 88*

[Text] Kabul, July 10, BAKHTAR—The continued endeavours of the Government of the Soviet Union and the public circles of that country for the release of those Soviet soldiers held by extremists in the Pakistani territory was explained in a press conference here today.

Our military correspondent reports that during the conference Konarovskiy, advisor in the Soviet Embassy in Kabul said that the Government of the Soviet Union attempts to set the captive Soviet soldiers free from the bondage of the extremist groups.

In the Soviet Union, he went on to say, committees aimed for organising activities of all Soviet social organisations in this direction are set up, he said.

The Soviet Union has put the matter with the Pakistani Government for several times, he added.

Pakistan claims that as if [as received] the Soviet soldiers are not kept in Pakistan and they are living in the U.S. and other Western countries. On the contrary the "Seven Party Alliance" has repeatedly confessed on the existence of the Soviet soldiers in Pakistan, he stressed.

The stand of the Government of Pakistan in this matter is inhuman and against the norms of the Human rights, Konarovskiy noted.

At the end of the conference Yankovskiy, a Soviet soldier responded to the questions raised in this connection by the domestic and foreign journalists.

Indian President Visits Leningrad, Tashkent

Gromyko Hosts Dinner

LD0607165588 Moscow TASS in English 1641 GMT
6 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—A dinner was given on behalf of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR in the Kremlin today for visiting Indian President Ramaswamy Venkataraman and his wife.

The Indian officials accompanying Venkataraman on the trip also attended the dinner.

Those attending on the Soviet side included Andrey Gromyko and his wife, Vitaliy Vorotnikov, Lev Zaykov, Eduard Shevardnadze, Petr Demichev, Dmitriy Yazov, Anatoliy Dobrynin and other officials.

Andrey Gromyko, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Venkataraman exchanged speeches at the dinner.

The Indian president is in Moscow at the invitation of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government.

Arrives in Leningrad 9 Jul

LD0907231188 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1250 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Leningrad, 9 Jul (TASS)—After completing the Moscow portion of his official friendly visit, Indian President Ramaswamy Venkataraman and the officials accompanying him set off on a trip around the country. The guests were given a joyful welcome today in Leningrad with its 5 million strong population, which has had a long friendship with its Indian twinned town of Bombay.

The president's plane landed at Pulkovo Airport, where the flags of India, the USSR, and the Russian Federation were raised. The President was welcomed at the steps of Vladimir Khodyrev, chairman of the Leningrad Gorispolkom. "We are happy to receive you and say in a heartfelt way: Welcome!" he said.

These same words were brightly inscribed on a great banner fastened to the front of the white airport building.

The President's wife and other Indian women were presented with bouquets of scarlet roses by the welcoming party.

After completing the protocol ceremony, a procession of cars, with a motorcycle escort, set off for the city. On the way, the president stopped off at Victory Square and looked at the monument to the heroic defenders of the city. [passage omitted] Ramaswamy Venkataraman laid flowers at the steps and at the central sculpture "Blockade."

Vladimir Khodyrev was surrounded by Indian journalists in the memorial hall of the monument. Answering their questions, he noted the great importance of the president's visit to the Soviet Union. "The Leningraders are convinced that the ongoing Soviet-Indian dialogue will contribute to strengthening friendly relations between the peoples of our countries. As for the partnership with Bombay, we intend to develop it in the field of economics. On behalf of all Leningraders, I ask you to pass on to the people of your country our good wishes for their happiness, prosperity, and peace," said the Leningrad Gorispolkom chairman.

Arrives in Tashkent 10 Jul

LD1007213188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
2000 GMT 10 Jul 88

[Text] Following a familiarization visit in Leningrad, Indian President Venkataraman arrived in Tashkent on 10 July. He talked there with Nishanov, Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee first secretary. At the same time, the Indian leader laid flowers at the monument to Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and a wreath on the tomb of the unknown soldier.

Hails Soviet Reforms

BK1007053488 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0240
GMT 10 Jul 88

[Text] The president, Mr R. Venkataraman, has hailed the sweeping reforms approved at the recent national conference of the Soviet Communist Party. He was speaking at an informal dinner, hosted in his honor by the mayor of Leningrad last night. The president said changes are a major milestone in the annals of Soviet history and will give a decisive direction to perestroyka, which means restructuring. Referring to his talks with the Soviet leaders in Moscow he said these will further promote the Indo-Soviet friendship.

Speaking on the occasion, the mayor of Leningrad also expressed the hope that the age-old ties between India and the Soviet Union will be further strengthened. The president is going to Tashkent today, where he will have talks with the Uzbek leaders.

India's Gandhi Sends Message to Moscow Fete
LD0907203688 Moscow TASS in English 1602 GMT
8 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow June 8 TASS—Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has sent a message to the participants in the closing ceremony of the Indian festival in the Soviet Union, held in Moscow.

He emphasized the festival had become one of the most important components in the Indian people's effort to acquaint their Soviet friends with India's ancient heritage, as well as their contemporary aspirations and future hopes.

The Indian prime minister said that the enthusiasm generated by the festival in the Soviet Union had strengthened the belief that there was a great potential of good will, human warmth, friendship and possibilities to develop cooperation between India and the Soviet Union. He added that the Soviet festival in India was also being given a warm welcome.

Gandhi's message pointed out that those festivals of friendship had not only enriched the artistic apprehension [as received] of the two peoples, but had also strengthened and deepened the Indo-Soviet friendship and expanded the horizons of future cooperation.

Soviet-Indian Trade Union Meeting Ends in Moscow
PM1007183388 Moscow TRUD in Russian
7 Jul 88 p 3

[Own correspondent A. Polonskiy report: "In an Atmosphere of Friendship"]

[Text] The Consultative Meeting of Leaders of the AUCCTU and Trade Union Associations of India on Questions of Further Developing Soviet-Indian Friendship and Trade Union Cooperation ended in Moscow on 6 July.

The following took part in the meeting: An AUCCTU delegation headed by S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU; and an Indian delegation comprising Gopeshwar, general secretary of the Indian National Trade Union Congress; I. Gupta, general secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress; U. Purohit, general secretary of the Trade Union Center, Hind Mazdoor Sabha; and others.

At a press conference held the same day the leaders of the Indian trade union centers described the first-ever comprehensive consultative meeting of representatives of Soviet and Indian trade unions.

"The fact that our consultative meeting coincided with Indian President Venkataraman's official friendly visit to the USSR was pure chance," I. Gupta, general secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, said in answer to a question from your TRUD correspondent. "However, there is a certain inevitability about it. Both events form an organic part of the extensive, comprehensive links between the USSR and India developing on the sound basis of the Soviet-Indian Treaty on Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation.

"The whole atmosphere of our talks with Soviet colleagues was characterized by a high degree of openness. S.A. Shalayev briefed us in detail on the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

"Our meeting particularly stressed that the defense of working people's rights is a basic task of trade unions in both capitalist and socialist countries. We reached agreement on holding on a broad basis the first Soviet-Indian trade union meeting in spring 1989.

"We also discussed the fate of Soviet servicemen missing in action or prisoners of opposition forces in Afghanistan. Through its contacts with trade unions in Pakistan and other countries and through the Indian Government, our delegation will render necessary assistance to secure the release of Soviet POW's."

It was noted at the press conference that the participants in the consultative meeting exchanged opinions on topical questions of general and regional security. Both delegations welcomed the signing of the Soviet-American Treaty To Eliminate Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. They approved the Geneva accords on Afghanistan. Both delegations stated that the U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf serves as a source of constant dangerous tension, which led to the tragedy of the Iranian passenger airliner.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Shooting of Iranian Airliner Assessed
MB0907203088 Moscow in English to Southern Africa
1800 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Commentary by (Mikhail Tsirilov)]

[Text] The loss of the Iranian airliner shot down with American missiles over the Persian Gulf has stirred the world. Comments by (Mikhail Tsirilov):

This tragic event gives a sad cause—unfortunately, not the only one—for pondering over the role of the factor which to this day prevails in international policies: the role of violence. Karl Marx called violence a midwife of history. These days this lady has worked excellently.

It sometimes seemed that the world went mad. Passenger planes enveloped in flames are shot down; trains blown up on mines are derailed; automobiles stuffed with explosives are blasted, and people are kidnapped and killed.

There are always plausible reasons justifying these cheap (?laughs). The commander of the American cruiser says he fulfilled his soldier's duty. The former Ugandan dictator, Idi Amin, having annihilated millions of people, fought for the so-called unity in his country. President Pieter Botha sends the Sharpeville Six to death, convinced that he is defending the interests of democracy the South African way, which he considers is not properly understood by people.

At every appropriate, and inappropriate, moment we are too much used to resort to our enemy's persuasion from the positions of force. [sentence as heard] It is much easier to pounce on the opponent with your fists than to prove to him your righteousness or his mistake with reasonable arguments. Very often they simply do not exist.

In the eighties, I happened to live in a small Angolan town of Mocamedes. Now it is called Namibe, in the country's south. It is a small oasis where one almost never heard any shooting, which was a usual thing in the other areas of Angola. It seemed the war did not reach Mocamedes. But one day at dawn a frightful blast shook the town. The South African commandos had derailed a train heading for Lubango. We saw bent rails, overturned carriages, blood, death.

A war is a war, Frenchmen say. But when peaceful people are killed, when women and children are killed, that's terrible. What do they need those condolences for, those antedated admissions of mistakes? Because they are no more. The great Russian writer, Feodor Dostoyevskiy, repudiated the future earthly paradise if, to create it, it would be necessary to shed at least one tear of one child. We have already shed oceans of tears. Will there ever be an end to that?

The Palestinian children are so used to the bursts of shells that they do not pay any attention to them. When children of their age in South Africa hear the word necklace, the first thing they visualize is an automobile tire soaked with benzine, and not a woman's ornament. Violence cannot anymore serve as a means of settling conflicts. Do we have an alternative?

There is still hope that reason will prevail, that disputes will be solved at a negotiation table, and not on battle fields. Unfortunately, this is only a hope. Whether it will become a reality depends on us.

Foreign Ministry Official on Ethiopia, Somalia
EA0707111188 Moscow International Service
in Somali 1600 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Unidentified correspondent's interview with Yuriy Yukalov, chief of the Second African Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs; date and place not specified—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] What can you tell us about the situation in the Horn of Africa, and the improvement of relations between Ethiopia and Somalia?

[Yukalov] Since the implementation of the agreements signed in Mogadishu on relations between Ethiopia and Somalia, the atmosphere in the Horn of Africa has improved. The agreements are courageous steps taken by the two countries. They have adopted new political thinking, a new attitude of forgiveness, which serves the interests of their peoples, who cannot live without lasting peace.

However, the situation in the Horn of Africa is still difficult because relations between Ethiopia and Sudan are not yet good. The political movement toward rapprochement between the two countries is proceeding slowly. It is not just that the confrontation between the two countries is an age-old one, connected with religious affairs; there is also the Eritrean issue, which (?costs the lives of children) in Ethiopia, and the south Sudan problem, which also affects the situation badly. It looks as if some people in and outside Sudan would like to exploit the Eritrean issue. A political settlement of the conflict between Ethiopia and Sudan is also hindered by the presence of U.S. forces in the region.

Some of Ethiopia's neighbors, including Somalia, have become involved with the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force. This increases mutual suspicion and exacerbates the situation in the whole region. Despite all this the USSR still believes that the situation in the Horn of Africa can be settled, provided all sides display sincerity and proceed on the basis of mutual understanding, territorial integrity and noninterference in the internal affairs of others.

[Correspondent] Western countries claim that Soviet policy toward Ethiopia and Somalia has changed of late. What can you tell us about this?

[Yukalov] This talk of a so-called change in policy in Ethiopia is baseless. Our policy has not changed. The USSR continues to apply a straightforward and principled policy toward Ethiopia and Somalia. It is also true that relations between the USSR and Somalia are improving. Since November 1986 relations between the

two countries [words indistinct]. They became strained in 1977, but the USSR was not to blame. It is necessary to point out that the first step toward the improvement of our relations was taken by the government of Somalia. We answered this step with an open mind. Relations between the USSR and Somalia can be the same as our relations with Ethiopia, which are very friendly. This [word indistinct] would contribute to a settlement of the situation in the Horn of Africa. Soviet policy is not one that incites peoples against one another.

[Correspondent] In an interview with PRAVDA, Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre called for resumption of cooperation between the USSR and Somalia in education and the economy. What can you tell us about such cooperation?

[Yukalov] There are basic agreements. As I said previously, the two countries agreed in November 1986 to resume commercial, economic, and educational relations. A team of Soviet experts has visited Somalia. They investigated ways of resuming educational and economic cooperation. Plans for educational cooperation are being organized. Even though the talks are still continuing, we have invited 50 Somali students to study in Soviet colleges this year. Soviet journalists and singers have visited Mogadishu. Relations between USSR and Somalia have a future. Both sides want an improvement, even though construction is more difficult than destruction.

Angolan Political-Military Situation Analyzed
LD0907135188 Moscow in Portuguese to Africa
1830 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Ilya Maksimov commentary]

[Text] In Luanda, the MPLA-PT [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola - Workers Party] Central Committee Plenum has ended. It analyzed the political and military situation in the country, and progress made in implementing the economic and financial rehabilitation program [SEF]. Ilya Maksimov comments:

It was stressed at the plenum that during the years of Angola's independence the country has not had a single day of peace. The aggressive actions of the racist South Africans, and UNITA's [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] [?sorties] have caused colossal economic losses to the young republic, and terrible sorrow and unquantifiable suffering to the Angolan people.

From the start, the Western powers, above all the United States, have taken an extraordinarily hostile stance toward the People's Republic of Angola. The U.S. Government refused the young republic the statute of trading partner with equal rights, and put pressure on firms cooperating with Angola; example, Gulf Oil. In exchange for economic assistance the imperialist forces tried to obtain political and ideological concessions.

In presenting the economic restructuring program last August, the Angolan leader, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, pointed out that besides the objective difficulties caused by the undeclared war, which is still going on, serious planning calculation mistakes were made. The roles of the private sector and small manufacturers in the economy were underestimated. This is why one of the directions of Angolan restructuring will be the reduction of state intervention in transportation, agriculture, civil construction, retail trade and, above all, services.

According to economists' opinions, the transfer of part of the enterprises to the principle of self-financing will be important in industry. This will contribute toward increased profitability. Reforms of the (?credit) system are awaited. As was said at the plenum, the first months of Angola's SEF program were dedicated to analyzing the current state of the Angolan economy, and the preparation of mainly legislative measures which will permit concrete actions. Steps are now being taken to revise scheduling of debt repayments and to improve the country's financial situation.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that during these wide-ranging economic transformations, the role of the MPLA-PT, the political vanguard of the Angolan people, is growing. In all phases of the country's economic and financial reorganization, Jose Eduardo dos Santos said, the party should play a leading and guiding role, while not, however, replacing state institutions. All this should speed up the tasks of restoring the national economy, and Angola's advance toward socialism.

Angolan Official Interviewed on Namibia
LD0707195888 Moscow TASS in English 1002 GMT
7 Jul 88

[Text] Luanda July 7 TASS—The results of the Moscow summit between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan permit to draw the conclusion that the menace of war is gradually abating, and it is possible to achieve stability in international relations. This has been stated by Roberto Antonio de Almeida, member of the Politbureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] Workers' Party.

He pointed out in a TASS interview that in this situation the prospect of attaining the settlement of many regional conflicts, including that in southern Africa, was getting more and more real. As a result of aggressive actions of South Africa, Angola, Mozambique and other countries of the region sustain enormous material and manpower losses. Another complicated problem—the existence of apartheid which is one of the main causes of the conflict in the region—still remains to be resolved. Despite Resolution 435 of the U.N. Security Council, Namibia continues to be a colony of racist-ruled South Africa. If

mutual understanding is strengthened in Soviet-American relations, these two countries can make a tremendous impact on the developments in the South of the African Continent.

However, at present a policy pursued by the Reagan administration is actually aimed at supporting the Pretoria regime. We know that the U.S. renders material and financial assistance to the terrorist group of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] which makes much more complicated the situation in Angola, he said. According to Roberto Antonio de Almeida, it is only the changing of Washington's policy that could bring about positive transformations in Angola and in the south of Africa in general.

We believe, he continued, that the world revolutionary process entered a new stage after the 27th CPSU Congress. The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference which came to a close in Moscow is the continuation of the policy of restructuring Soviet society mapped out by the congress. The new political course of the CPSU will undoubtedly be reflected in all the socialist countries, young and independent states. Resolutions of the 19th party conference will bring about positive results in international relations. Relations of the Soviet Union with socialist and developing countries will strengthen and further develop. Their further expansion stems from the resolutions of the party conference which are of international significance.

Cuban Letter to UN on Angola, RSA
*LD0907091288 Moscow TASS in English 1818 GMT
8 Jul 88*

[Text] New York July 8 TASS—The Governments of the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Cuba are ready to continue their quest for ways of settling the situation in the south of Africa on the basis of talks, says a letter sent by Alberto Velasco San Jose, Cuba's representative at the U.N. Security Council, to the U.N. secretary general.

The letter exposed the attempts of the Pretoria regime to provoke an international scandal over the actions of the Angolan-Cuban Air Force. Its planes raided on June 27 the South African Occupation Forces in the south of Angola. The operation was staged in response to the shelling by South African long-range artillery of Angolan-Cuban positions in Cunene province, the letter pointed out. The racists staged their hostile action on June 26, a day after the end of the quadripartite talks in Cairo whose participants painstakingly searched for ways to achieve a political settlement of the situation in southern Africa.

In response to the artillery shelling the Angolan-Cuban troops staged on June 27 a massive air raid against the Pretoria forces deployed in the village of Kalveka, the letter said. On the same day they intercepted and

destroyed a reinforced patrol of the 61st regular Mechanized Battalion of the South African Army moving in the direction of Cipa. Angolan-Cuban planes stopped [as received] and bombed the units of the South African Army dispatched to help the patrol.

According to the letter, South Africa was taught a good lesson. Any attack staged in the south of Angola will be repulsed in a similar resolute way. The Pretoria Command maintains that 12 South African servicemen were killed. The Cuban representative stated that, according to their information, South African casualties amount to several dozens of South African servicemen. South Africa is spreading the invention to the effect that 10 transport vehicles of the Angolan-Cuban forces were destroyed together with 200 people inside. In reality not a single transport vehicle belonging to the Armed Forces of Angola and Cuba was destroyed.

During the developments of June 26 and June 27 the casualties of the Angolan-Cuban forces amounted to 10. All the air and ground operations took place on the territory of Angola, the letter said.

Supreme Soviet Cables RSA President
*LD0707221388 Moscow TASS in English 1655 GMT
7 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 7 TASS—The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has sent a telegram to President Pieter Botha of the Republic of South Africa.

The telegram says that Soviet people with bitterness and indignation view reports on the intention of the South African authorities to execute the death sentence passed on the six South African citizens—Theresa Ramashamola, Mojalefa Sefasta, Reid Mokoena, Oupa Diniso, Duma Khumalo, Francis Mokgesi whose guilt was not proved.

“Guided by the sense of humaneness, and concern for the defence of the basic right of man—the right to life”, the telegram emphasizes, “the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on behalf of the entire Soviet people is calling upon the president of the Republic of South Africa to avert a gross injustice and to prevent execution of the innocent people”.

Moscow Radio Views Cairo, Stockholm Peace Talks
*MB0807121988 Moscow in English to Southern Africa
1800 GMT 27 Jun 88*

[“South Africa Today” feature by Aleksandr Fedorov]

[Text] This week, South Africa is involved in international contacts at various levels. In Cairo, representatives of South Africa, the United States, Cuba, and Angola concluded their talks on a peaceful settlement in the south of the African Continent, and in Stockholm a delegation of 20 white Namibians had a meeting with the leaders of the South-West African People's Organization

[SWAPO]. The delegation represented the three main white communities in Namibia: the Afrikaners, the German speakers, and the English speakers.

While playing up the Cairo talks as a manifestation of their goodwill, the South African authorities have denounced the Stockholm meeting as an attempt to fan the regional conflict. They might fear that more white Namibians would follow the example set by that and other similar meetings in various countries, even though President Pieter Botha seems to be sure that apartheid in his country and in Namibia will survive the meetings of this kind.

According to the polls, most white South Africans continue to believe that their country's economy would get into a slump without Namibia's abundant minerals. They therefore give their tacit approval to Pretoria's sabotage of the Resolution 435 of the UN Security Council. The resolution calls for a cease-fire in Namibia, elections under UN auspices, working out the country's constitution, and proclaiming its independence.

However, some other whites living in Namibia hold different views. They have now heard at first hand what SWAPO leaders and the Namibian blacks at large think about their role in society after the country wins independence. The Stockholm meeting seems to have been frank, and the sides cared least of all for diplomatic ceremonies. They agreed the Security Council resolution can be implemented, starting from 29 September, to mark the 10 years since it was adopted.

SWAPO reiterated its plans to turn Namibia into a democracy, which would guarantee the basic rights to all citizens irrespective of the color of their skins. True, one can understand the whites which ask themselves how genuine are these promises by the African leaders. Things are always easier said than done. But the fact that not a single white has suffered in Namibia for racial reasons speaks for itself. It is also true that the cases of white violence are very rare in the country, although they have become an everyday occurrence in South Africa.

No doubt there is social injustice in the country, but most white Namibians would (?give up their) wrath for safety and peaceful life, and the economists say when Namibia is no longer plundered by (?90) Western companies it will have enough natural resources to provide a good living to both the whites and the Africans.

The businessmen, farmers, lawyers, journalists, and scientists who have dared to go to Stockholm are now described by Pretoria as turncoats, who have betrayed the white interests in South Africa and Namibia. Apartheid is following its basic principle of dividing people into two warring camps, this time dividing the whites along economic lines.

But even a simple estimate can show what would really be good for the South African economy. At present, over 100,000 South African servicemen are stationed in Namibia. Pieter Botha has set a sad record. Today in Namibia the ratio is 1:10 between the soldiers and the civilians, including the aged people and babies. Every year South Africa spends \$2 billion on Namibia—a huge sum, given the recent warning by Parliament that the national economy is sliding to crisis. Of course, Pretoria is getting much more by plundering Namibia, but it has to spend that money in Namibia itself, rather than use it for peaceful purposes at home. It is certainly not in the interests of the white South Africans to allocate the money on the burial of their relatives. Neither is it in their interests to make the country's pensioners lead the life of beggars, which they are leading now.

And should the white South African follow Pretoria's suit and condemn those who dare to negotiate with the liberation organization in the face of threats by the authorities? Those people were thinking about the fate of their country, not about their own fate.

East Europe

Further Reportage on Gorbachev Visit to Poland

Moscow Statement Noted

LD1107212688 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 11 Jul 88

[No video available]

[Text] [Announcer] The day began for Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow.

[Unidentified correspondent] This is Vnukovo-2 Airport. It is almost 1000. Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife Raisa are arriving and being greeted by representatives of the Polish Embassy. Just before his departure, I asked the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to give a short statement for Polish television viewers.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent in Russian with superimposed Polish translation] Mikhail Sergeyevich, with what feelings, in what mood are you flying to Poland?

[Gorbachev in Russian with superimposed Polish translation] One can say this in two words: it is a good mood, with the best feelings, feelings of friendship and the expectation that these will be interesting days, with a rich program. Both the Soviet and the Polish sides, and Comrade Jaruzelski, we think, judge that the visit will bring a new input into the development of our relations, that have in recent years been taking on strength and dynamism. We are glad of this. I hope that the same is felt by the working people in Poland, too, and that they receive the current character of our relations in the same way.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much. I know that other questions will be set you by journalists in Poland. [end recording]

Remarks to Airport Crowd

LD1107221988 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 11 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; special correspondent D. Biryukov report from Warsaw]

[Text] At 1000 local time, the special aircraft from Moscow landed at Warsaw's Okęcie airport. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and his wife, and Comrades Shevardnadze, Medvedev, and other Soviet guests were warmly and cordially greeted at the aircraft steps by Wojciech Jaruzelski and his wife, and by members of the Politburo and the Central Committee of the PZPR.

The very first minutes of the visit and the first steps on Polish soil were noted for the sincerity of the friendship. Mikhail Sergeyevich already knows many of the Polish comrades who came to the airport from his previous meetings in Warsaw. For he has already been here twice before—in 1985 and 1986. [video shows aircraft taxiing on runway, crowds with "Welcome to Warsaw" banner; Gorbachev and wife descend plane steps and are welcomed by the Jaruzelskis. Shevardnadze, Medvedev, and Sokolov are among others in background. Gorbachev is then shown shaking hands with Polish officials, among whom are Messner, Malinowski, Mlynczak, and Dobraczynski. Gorbachev and Jaruzelski stand to attention as anthems are played]

The two countries' anthems were played. The commander of the honor guard gave his report to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Comrades Gorbachev and Jaruzelski then inspected the honor guard. [video shows guard commander reporting to Gorbachev; then the inspection of guard, cutting to show Gorbachev greeting the soldiers]

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev shook hands with members of the diplomatic corps and employees of the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw, and warmly greeted representatives of the public of the Polish capital. [video shows Gorbachev shaking hands with officials and then going over to the public with Jaruzelski, smiling broadly]

[Gorbachev] I was asking Comrade Jaruzelski, who ensured that we should have such fine weather as this? We did it together! Comrades, Wojciech Wladislawovich said that it was the government!

[Jaruzelski in Polish with superimposed Russian translation] The warmth of this meeting is no less than the warmth of today.

[Gorbachev] Thank you. I'm very glad to see you. Thank you for your welcome!

[Biryukov] Warsaw welcomes cordially, with an open heart, the leader of the fraternal country, whom they know and respect here as the initiator of the process of restructuring and renewal of socialism. [video shows Gorbachev in a crowd, flowers being thrust toward him and a pen handed for him to sign books]

Mikhail Sergeyevich's book "Perestroika" has just been published in an additional, fourth edition in Polish translation. It is in the hands of many of the people welcoming him, and the same request for an autograph follows one after the other.

[Gorbachev] This is already my third visit here! But I'll be back; I'll be back! You know what I want to say to you: We are very pleased with how our relations are developing right now. We can see that these relations are already at the level of governments and parties, but these relations have started to be very well exchanged at the level of labor collectives and between the workers, the intelligentsia, and families. I am particularly pleased that our young people [words indistinct]. We are pleased at this. I hope that the same is true on your side. [video shows close-up of Gorbachev, with Raisa at his side, talking to crowd; cut to Gorbachev and Jaruzelski standing to attention as guard marches past]

[Biryukov] The solemn march past of the honor guard completes the meeting at the airport.

Greeted in 'Hearty Manner'

LD1107203788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1630 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw has welcomed the high Soviet guest in a cordial and hearty manner. Our special correspondents, Nikolay Agayants and Vasilii Lesovik, report:

Wherever Mikhail Sergeyevich appeared today, he was welcomed with flowers, smiles and applause, words of greeting, and sincere respect. Thousands of Warsaw's residents came out into the streets of the ancient and eternally young city on the Vistula to see the Soviet leader, to shake his hand, to say a few words, and to ask for his autograph. There were very many such informal and unscheduled meetings with the public in the Polish capital, starting with the airport and continuing along the whole of the route taken by the motorcade. There were unforgettable and truly exciting moments.

By the way, one can judge how simple and cordial the atmosphere was by the very fact that the schedule was disrupted right away at the airport. The residents of Warsaw who welcomed the high Soviet guest were to blame. They detained Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the first conversations took place there and then. Then, on the route into town, the motorcade was forced to stop twice more. Mikhail Sergeyevich got out of the vehicle to meet the people who had gathered along the route. Many were carrying the book "Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the Whole World."

which, by the way, despite the four editions that have come out one after the other, is nevertheless, still difficult to buy here. People held out the book to get the author's autograph, and many of them got it.

The same departure from protocol occurred also during the official wreath-laying ceremony at Warsaw's memorial sites.

As is known, this is the third visit to the Polish People's Republic by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in the last 3 years. But one should stress that this is the first official, friendly visit to Poland by Comrade Gorbachev. His stay here is also significant for the fact that, apart from the capital, Mikhail Sergeyevich will visit Krakow, Poronin, and Szczecin on the coast, and will be able to get to know various aspects of the life of Polish working people. Of course, the itinerary also makes provision for in-depth talks with the republic's leaders. They began today at the PZPR Central Committee building.

The local press, radio, television are giving broad coverage to the Soviet leader's visit to Poland, regarding it as the No 1 event in 1988 for the Polish People's Republic. Millions of Poles are saying: Welcome to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the architect of restructuring in the USSR. We wish our Soviet friends the greatest success in their aspirations and achievements. A new glorious page has opened in the history of relations between our fraternal peoples, our states, and our parties.

Visits Warsaw Sites

LD1107231988 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 11 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by special correspondents in Warsaw D. Biryukov and V. Lubovtsev]

[Text] [Correspondent] The cortege of the motor vehicles, in the first of which are Comrades Gorbachev and Jaruzelski, is now leaving the airport en route to downtown Warsaw. Thousands of Warsaw inhabitants are lining both sides of this green avenue, welcoming Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The first stop was at the Zwirko and Wigura monument. They were the courageous Polish pilots who made their country famous in the thirties. An open and amicable conversation with the inhabitants of Warsaw gets underway.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] Thank you for the meeting. All in all, I have spent just several minutes on your soil and when I see the Polish faces, the expressions on them, their eyes, I sense their friendly attitude. This is how I understand it: that a very great rapprochement is currently in progress between our nations, our peoples, a very great understanding. This is the main thing. Let us do everything to tackle together the task given to us by the times; let us do everything so that the friendship between our peoples becomes more extensive and deep. I think this is a very great cause. Maybe we are all now

living through such days, such years that create strong and great preconditions for our friendship. We will—let us be resilient. There are now many problems in both our countries. But, you know, endurance and resilience are needed. In my view—I recently made a speech at the conference, and I said it is those who have succeeded in standing firm during this period who will be victorious.

[Unidentified voice from the crowd, in Russian] May you have great successes!

[Gorbachev] I wish you the same, too. [applause] [end recording]

[Correspondent] The cortege is on the move again. Again there is a stop, this time in the center of the city. The entire square, Plac na Ródrozu, is full of people who have come to welcome Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

[Video shows Gorbachev addressing the crowds, raising his clasped hands]

This is the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, a sacred site for numerous generations of Poles. This is the eternal flame, commemorating those who fought for Poland's freedom and independence. Urns containing the soil delivered from the sites of the many battles in which Polish patriots fought and died can be found here. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev laid a wreath here today. The army orchestra played the Soviet and Polish national anthems.

An entry was made in a book of commemorative entries. [video shows Gorbachev signing a book] Subsequently, another meeting was held with inhabitants of Warsaw; there was a lively and direct conversation.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] Before I say something to you, I want to recall, on this sacred site, that for many centuries the best representatives of Russian and Poland have always been attracted to each other and always thought that they would be together in the future, even though we know what the ruling classes in Russia and the ruling classes in Poland did. Now we can say that what our people's best representatives dreamed of is being implemented in practice. We are now close to each other; we are friends, and we are developing extensive relations: relations between peoples. We in the Soviet Union are proud of this, of the friendship with the Polish people. We want Poland to prosper, to be strong. Let us always be together. This is what I want to tell you on this site.

[Unidentified voice from the crowd, in Russian] We too, we too! [crowd breaks into a song "So Lat"] [end recording]

[Correspondent] In an ancient Polish tradition, the "So Lat" is being sung—it expresses the wish that the dear guest will live to be 100 years old.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] You sing well—an amateur choir! Thank you for the meeting. I wish you all the best. Ours are not easy tasks, but do bear in mind that we have great potential. We and you have become a bit laid back. We have begun to indulge ourselves a bit, but now we must come to grips with real things. Our peoples are educated; they are learned. We have resources. We are now doing everything to unite both our resources and our potential—intellectual and spiritual. In any case, we sense on the Polish side a movement to meet us halfway. We, too, are ready to meet you halfway. Let us be together. Good-bye.

[Unidentified voice from the crowd] Thank you.
[applause] [end recording]

[Correspondent] Not far away from the Victory Square, in front of the building housing Warsaw's Grand Theater there is the famous monument to the heroes of Warsaw. It became one of the city's symbols, the symbol of its casualties and its quest for freedom: 850,000 inhabitants lost their lives during the years of the fascist occupation. Poles call this monument the Nike of Warsaw, the goddess of victory. Flowers are laid at the foot of the monument. New meetings with the inhabitants of Warsaw follow. [video shows Gorbachev shaking hands with women]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified woman in the crowd, in Russian] Welcome to Warsaw, all the best!

[Gorbachev] Good day. Good day. Are you in a good mood?

[Unidentified voices in Russian and Polish] Yes, yes.

[Gorbachev] I am glad. Even if you say that you have many problems, this will not change my impression. You look good; your mood is good.

[Unidentified woman from crowd, in Russian] We work in the field of culture. That is why we are in such good mood. We have a good theater, and we are happy.

[Gorbachev] We are very pleased to see the inhabitants of Warsaw in such large numbers.

[Unidentified voice from the crowd, in Russian] (?Mr Secretary), we wish you always such sunshine as we are having today!

[Gorbachev] Thank you, thank you. I understand.

[Same voice] I wish you that always.

[Gorbachev] May you, too, have a sunny path, but rains are also needed! [laughing] Sunny health, but rain [word indistinct]. [applause] [end recording]

[Correspondent] One more place in Warsaw is sacred for both Poles and for the Soviet people: the memorial cemetery for the Soviet Army soldiers who lost their lives in battles to liberate the Polish capital. More than 20,000 of our soldiers are buried here. Flowers never wilt on their graves. Years and decades pass, but the feat of the liberators never dims in the memory of the inhabitants of Warsaw. This is the festive ceremony of laying wreaths. The national anthems of the USSR and Poland, and the Internationale, the anthem of proletarians, were played. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev made an entry in the book of commemorative entries. [video shows Gorbachev shaking hands with members of the public]

[Begin Gorbachev recording] Well, Varsovians, we like you because of your good mood. And these children, what are they, pioneers, yes? In what grade are you? The eighth? You are already big! You know, in olden times, the saying was born that a society can only regard itself as mature when it has prepared a good shift for itself, to take over, because if there is no good shift to take over, then everything that was begun by the preceding generations perishes. Do grow up to be a good shift! Soon all of Poland will be shouldered by you. It is your responsibility, children, yours and that of your peers. How old are you? Well, in 10 years, you must have good shoulders.

[Video shows hand from the crowd giving Gorbachev a green scarf]

How am I to write on this? Let me tie a knot here, this knot!

[Unidentified voice from the crowd then explains in Polish, with simultaneous Russian translation for Gorbachev, that the pioneers visited Orel in the USSR]

That is good, children. If you have been to Orel, you surely must have visited the Kursk and Orel salients. That is where big battles were fought. You know, I have been to Kursk and Orel with Raisa Maksimovna. We saw places where everyone perished. The war was in progress then. Following the Soviet people, the Polish people also sustained enormous losses in the fight against fascism. So, children, not everything was so simply in history; not everything came to easily and not everything came all at once. Have you seen the destroyed Warsaw in films? But Stalingrad, Kursk, Orel, Rostov, Odessa, Sevastopol, Minsk, and Kiev were like that, too. The older generations rebuild them. You have to keep an eye on this. Well, it seems to me that just as each generation brings with itself something new, so you, too, will do something new that may be required of you. But now study and gain wisdom! [children shout in Russian: "Thank you!"] [end recording]

[Video shows Gorbachev at the various venues described above, accompanied by Raisa, Czyrek, and unidentified officials]

Meets Varsovians, Jaruzelski
PM1207131388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under the general heading "USSR-Poland: Revealing Socialism's Potential More Fully: M.S. Gorbachev's Meetings on Polish Soil Begin"]

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 11 July—[passage omitted]

The moments during which the CPSU Central Committee general secretary visited Warsaw's sacred sites were solemn and moving. And after each laying of wreaths, the throng of Varsovians pressed right up to him. Frank conversations started up.

The general secretary shared his first impressions on arriving in Warsaw and received, as it were, new impressions, handshakes, and smiles.

M.S. Gorbachev:

"The Soviet Union takes pride in its friendship with the Polish people. We want Poland to prosper and be strong and will, therefore, always stand alongside you. I am speaking about this at a place that is sacred to you. We have great opportunities: Our peoples are well-educated and competent, and the resources exist. We must meet each other half-way."

"We love you, Gorbachev!" M. Ciepdinska, lecturer at Lublin University, cordially welcomed the guest.

"That is clearly," the CPSU Central Committee general secretary answered with a smile, "because you are in a good mood. That gladdens me. Even if you say that you have many problems, that won't change the impression. I wish you a good and settled mood. And a sunny path, albeit with rain. Rain assists the harvest. It is a good thing that we have paid homage today at these sacred sites and remembered the enormous sacrifices made by our and your peoples. They are a tree of friendship planted in difficult times; we must cultivate it together."

Many interlocutors carried copies of the book "Restructuring: New Thinking for Our Country and the Whole World." They held them out to the general secretary for him to sign. No one was refused. Warsaw teacher J. Szlensek thanked him for the autograph for his pupils.

"Every generation," M.S. Gorbachev said, "must conserve all the best things created by their fathers, and that means the spirit generated during the years of our fraternity in arms."

"Back in ancient times," the general secretary went on, turning toward young people, "the saying arose that a society can only consider itself mature if it has prepared good successors. Do grow up to be good successors. The responsible burden—the fate of all Poland—will soon lie on your shoulders. After all, dear children, you have seen

Warsaw in ruins only in photographs. Stalingrad, Kursk, Orel, Rostov, Odessa, Minsk, and Kiev were the same. They had to be regenerated. And that was done by the older generations. But every generation has its own heights. Prepare yourselves to scale them."

The general secretary approached Polish veterans, soldiers of the two armies, as they call themselves. They introduced themselves: Colonels C. Bieliejewski and T. Kulaz, Captain J. Baran, Company Commander V. Staniszewska, K. Kowalski, and many others. Most of them traveled the frontline routes from the Urals to Berlin, shoulder to shoulder with Red Army servicemen. The veterans have strong recollections of those days. And they brought their recollections of those frontline routes to the meeting. The veterans presented M.S. Gorbachev with the just-published two-volume book "Remembrance" by Ya. Przymanowski, which records the name of each of the 620,000 Soviet servicemen who gave their lives to liberate Poland and its capital.

A conversation was held between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish Council of State, at the PZPR Central Committee on the same day.

Welcoming M.S. Gorbachev on behalf of the leadership of the PZPR, the government, state organizations, and the Polish people, W. Jaruzelski said: The first meetings have already shown that you are received with great cordiality and joy.

The PZPR Central Committee first secretary congratulated M.S. Gorbachev on the successful conclusion of the 19th all-union party conference. Its results encourage not only Soviet people but us Poles, too. We are glad that M.S. Gorbachev's first visit after the conference is to the PPR. We, he said, regard it as evidence of your party's great respect for our people. There have never been in our history such close relations with the Soviet Union as today.

It is just over a year since the Soviet-Polish declaration was signed, a short space of time, but it has been full of great successes. Both considerable reserves and new opportunities exist for strengthening cooperation. We hope, we are certain, that your present visit will give a powerful boost to even greater Polish-Soviet friendship.

M.S. Gorbachev expressed his thanks for the warm reception, which had convincingly shown everyone once again that a profound shift is taking place in relations between the Soviet Union and Poland. Our peoples are exceptionally sensitive in detecting these changes. Everything done in difficult years has enabled us to strengthen our ties and introduce the vital element of human relations into them. We regard the present visit to

Poland as a boost to healthy and profound processes. Soviet Communists and Soviet people are ready to continue to act in a broad and open way in our relations with fraternal Poland.

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary described the results of the 19th all-union party conference as an important stage in the implementation of the program of restructuring and the development of glasnost and the democratization of the Soviet Union's political system.

E.A. Shevardnadze, V.A. Medvedev, Ye.Ye. Sokolov, and V.I. Brovnikov took part in the conversation on the Soviet side.

The Polish side comprised J. Czyrek; M. Gorywoda, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo; B. Kolodziejczak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Secretariat; E. Kucza, chief of the PZPR Central Committee International Department; T. Olechowski, Polish foreign minister; W. Natorf, Polish ambassador to Poland; and other officials.

A meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and W. Jaruzelski then took place.

Addresses Sejm

PM1207100788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report under general heading "Meeting at the Polish Sejm" and headline "Speech by M.S. Gorbachev"]

[Text] Exalted Sejm, esteemed comrades and friends: I cordially thank you for inviting me to speak to you, plenipotentiary representatives of the Polish people, and for the words of welcome of the marshal of the Sejm.

Our visit to the Polish People's Republic [PPR] and our talks with Wojciech Jaruzelski have only just started, but the traditional atmosphere of mutual understanding and amicability in which they are being held and the common approach to cardinal questions inspire confidence that as a result, another important stride will be taken on the road of development of Soviet-Polish relations.

We have come to Warsaw on the eve of another anniversary of the rebirth of Poland, a crucial event in the centuries-old history of the Polish people. The past decades have been for your country both stormy and fruitful, and in many ways dramatic, but their main outcome is evident. Poland now has that which it was for so long deprived of in the past: independence and national statehood, reliable and just borders. Modern Poland is a developed industrial power, an authoritative scientific and cultural center of Europe, and an active participant in international affairs.

The Soviet Union marks all this with a feeling of sincere and profound sympathy. We are in favor of a strong socialist Poland. Not only because we want to have on our western borders a prosperous Polish state, on friendly terms with us, but also because the stable development of the PPR means a great deal for our common security and for European politics overall. As your friends and allies, we wish the Polish people happiness and prosperity.

We are linked by many centuries of history. Yes, this history has not been easy; it has known complex turns and conflicts. But it rests on the sound foundation laid by many generations of our peoples, and its roots go back to the joint struggle of revolutionary and democratic forces against the dominating classes.

The line of the historical development of Russia and Poland do not merely cross. In many things, we shared the same lot. The struggle of the revolutionary democrats and the Polish patriots against tsarism was the same. The workers', social-democratic, and then communist movements of Russia and Poland were indissolubly linked. The Poles took an active part in the 1905 Revolution and made a great contribution to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The struggle of the Soviet and Polish peoples against fascism, cemented in blood, will remain forever alive in the memory of the generations. Postwar socialist construction, too, is a shining page in our common destiny.

Much could be said as well about the immense experience and the deep foundations of our cultural and spiritual links, which have had such a powerful influence on the formation of mutual understanding, trust, and friendship. The whole of our joint history confirms that the Soviet and Polish peoples always gained when we cooperated, when we struggled shoulder to shoulder, "for your freedom and ours," and when we acted energetically together in the development of our countries and in the world arena.

I would like to assure the Sejm deputies that the Soviet leadership will continue to do all it can in order to protect and strengthen the close ties linking our fraternal socialist countries, linking Soviet people and Poles.

Poland today is going through a difficult time: breaking with the old and outdated, searching for ways of overcoming its accumulated economic, social and political problems, working out and implementing a strategy for the socialist renewal of society. All of this is mainly and basically similar to what we in the Soviet Union are doing.

World socialism has in essence entered a period of profound changes. The new social system has been in existence for more than 70 years, and of them, for more than four decades as an international phenomenon. At its source are the ideals of liberty and equality, the aspiration for a better lot. And socialism gave its answer

to these questions. It put an end to exploitation, ensured a speedy economy and cultural start and created an unprecedented system of social protection, a new way of life. It went through a complex time in its development, too, but proved the irreversibility of its transformations. Its experience became part of the worldwide practice of mankind.

Today the age is facing it—us—with a question: What must we do to proceed more energetically, to disclose fully the capabilities inherent in socialism, and to give it new wind?

The history of any socioeconomic system is a long-running and hard process of development through evolution, transformations, and sometimes through social upheavals. In this respect, socialism is no exception. For it, reforms are a genuine alternative to crisis or stagnation and a necessary element in its self-development and self-improvement. The search for ways of transition to a new quality of socialism is being independently carried out by every party. There can be no general recipes or mechanical emulation here. But similarity on the main point is in evidence: in the very understanding of the need for the renewal of the socialist society.

It is important that through the efforts of our parties, the Marxist-Leninist conception of socialism is reviving today. The idea that it is a multicolored process which is constantly being enriched through the creativity of the masses and which is changing in accordance with the new realities is gaining wide recognition. We are convinced that it is only through democratization that one can make a vigorous step forward. Only through this process can one reveal the enormous opportunities of the socialist system and the entire wealth of the human personality, and build a society of advanced economy, science and technology and, at the same time, of lofty humaneness.

What is progress in technology worth if, as it advances, ethical norms become shallow and moral standards fall? The creation of social conditions in which economic and scientific-technological progress could combine organically with social justice and morality, with the richness of man's spiritual being: That is a worthy aim. Therein lies the political—and if you like the philosophical—essence of the process that has come to be known by us as "restructuring."

Less than 2 weeks ago, the 19th all-union party conference ended its proceedings in Moscow. I will be precise in saying that the whole country was literally living by what was going on in the Kremlin in those days. I do not doubt that you were also interested in the progress of the conference and are familiar with the decisions adopted.

What do we see as its most important results? The conference has shown, above all, that restructuring is increasingly becoming a living cause of communists and millions of Soviet people.

The atmosphere itself that prevailed in our Palace of Congresses was graphic testimony of how the country had changed strikingly in the past 3 years. We have discarded without regret the routine of the past, when "absolute truths" were advanced from the rostrums and delegates had nothing to do except applaud and vote "for" by raising their hands. Today it is different.

The lively and sometimes sharp discussion on the radical issues of party policy and the methods of implementing it which developed at the conference made it possible to compare a broad spectrum of opinions, reveal sore issues, and to define more clearly how to proceed. We see it as a good and healthy process showing that the revolutionary spirit that invested the party with such strength in Lenin's times is being restored to life in the party.

The issue of reforming the political system occupied the central place in the conference's work. I will say frankly that we did not immediately come to understand its necessity, or even inevitability. We were led to it by both lessons of the past and life itself and the experience of the first stages of restructuring.

Plans for accelerating socioeconomic development, radical economic reform, and all our other undertakings aimed at renewing society will gain a firm foothold and the guarantee of irreversibility only if the mighty forces of democracy and the people's socialist self-administration join in the work. This is where the main meaning of reform of the political system lies. It is a question of overcoming completely the alienation of the working people from power and reliably securing their civil rights and opportunities for implementing varied interests and for showing and encouraging initiative. In other words, to put into practice Lenin's very important behest: Socialism cannot be created on instructions from above; it can only result from the living and creative activity of the masses. [applause]

Sweeping aside the supercentralism and bureaucratization related to it, we are coming out for a strong central authority, without which not a single modern society can exist. But we are for a really democratic authority acting within the framework of powers clearly defined by law and under the people's control, an authority which enjoys trust and is regarded by people as their own.

The concept of reform that was adopted by the conference covers the entire complex of political institutions. It defines in a new way the role and correlation of the party, local soviets, state organs, and public organizations.

A key requirement of the reform is the correct demarcation of functions between the party and the state. In an abstract approach to this matter, it can seem that any changes in the role of the basic elements of the political system must inevitably be to the benefit of one and to the detriment of another. In reality this is not so. In the past, our misfortune consisted in the fact that, in taking on

such day-to-day, administrative functions, party organizations fundamentally weakened their ability to engage in their main task: to play the part of society's political vanguard. And the soviets, deprived of real powers, grew weak and lost their authority. The reform will enable the creative potential of both the party and the soviets to be opened up, and all the people to be involved in the management of state and public affairs.

One of the main aims of the reform is to form a socialist state in which the rule of law prevails, in which the possibilities for the manifestation of arbitrary rule and voluntarism will be ruled out, and the triumph of the law and legality, and of democratic procedures will be reliably guaranteed.

One of the main mandates given to the party leadership by the conference delegates was immediately to get down to implementation of the adopted program. As soon as this month, there will be a plenum of the Central Committee, which will in practice set in motion the whole package of measures outlined by the conference. Such are the matters which are currently on the agenda. In addressing them, we consider it incumbent on ourselves to take account of everything that is useful in the experience of the socialist countries. We place a high value on the experience of our Polish friends.

Lofty Sejm, the wind of change is cleansing and strengthening Soviet-Polish relations. Both our bilateral efforts and the work which has been done in the recent period by the ruling parties of the socialist countries on a multi-lateral basis is having a favorable effect on these relations. The foundation of principles upon which cooperation in the socialist world is based has recently been substantially renovated, although there were plenty of good principles before as well. What suffered was the readiness to be guided by them in earnest. Now equality, independence, and joint tackling of problems in common are becoming the immutable norm of our relations. They are being rid of the elements of paternalism and coming to rest totally and completely on the foundation of voluntary, committed partnership and comradeship. And if one is to assess the nature, scope, and atmosphere of the development of Soviet-Polish ties in the most compressed form, then one can say: They have never before in the postwar period been so open and filled with commitment as today.

This is the substantial result of the policies of the CPSU and the PZPR, its allies, the United Peasants' and Democratic Parties, our parliaments, the result of the contribution of many dozens and hundreds of thousands of working people in our countries, and the Soviet-Polish and Polish-Soviet Friendship Societies. Giving due appraisal to the work that has been done, we see clearly that this is merely the start of the process to meet each other half-way in the new sense—within the context of restructuring.

Comrade Jaruzelski and I share the realization that much in Soviet-Polish relations still fails to satisfy the requirements of both sides and fails to correspond to the potential of which they are capable. Having embarked on the course of socialist renewal, we are thus opening up scope also for the development of economic integration and for the deepening of the international division of labor. The last circumstance is particularly important. The Fate of socialism has never before been made so strictly dependent on our countries' ability to leap forward on a technical basis, and reach a qualitatively new level in scientific and technical progress, a new stage in integration. This matter has assumed major social dimensions. On its basis, people judge the possibilities of socialism as a social structure. The radical economic transformations that are being carried in the USSR and Poland will create fundamentally different conditions for economic cooperation in the future. But we have to prepare for this future today.

Coming to the fore here, as it seems to us, are these kind of major problems: First, the traditional structure of our relations, that served us quite well in the past, needs to be reorganized and adapted to the demands of the time. In other words, we need a new model of cooperation, based on a more profound and rationally substantiated division of labor. There is something here for our governments and theoreticians, primarily our economists, to work on.

Second, it is essential to bring the mechanism for the integration of our economies, particularly its financial instruments, into line with the potential of our cooperation. Of course, this task should be resolved within the channel of the collective efforts of CEMA countries, directed at setting up a socialist common market.

Third, and finally, it is important to spare no efforts in the setting up of mutually advantageous direct links between the enterprises and associations of our countries and, where there are the prerequisites for this, also in the setting up of joint enterprises, scientific establishments, and design bureaus.

Speaking frankly, this matter is so far proceeding more slowly than one would wish, and it would be worth imparting the due acceleration to it.

Another and no less important area of cooperation is humanitarian. Even recently, the current opinion was that this sphere was topical primarily in East-West terms, whereas everything was as it should be in the world of socialism. Progress in this sphere is in fact of immense significance in relations among socialist countries as well. Having signed the Soviet-Polish declaration on ideological, scientific and cultural cooperation, our parties—one can say—have divined the very imperative of the times and the importance of the kinds of intellectual ties between peoples.

We regard self-critically the work in this area and are making up for what was overlooked in previous years due to various reasons. This also concerns direct contacts between people. New crossing points will be opened on the Soviet-Polish border. Opportunities for border contacts are broadening. More trains and air flights will link our countries. The idea of a ferry crossing between Szczecin and Leningrad is under discussion. A lot is being done to strengthen the ties of those Poles who live in the USSR with the land of their forefathers, their native language, culture, and the like. The opening of a Polish information center in Moscow has taken place.

The strengthening of trust between the people of the Soviet Union and Poland is served by further expansion and deepening of cultural cooperation and better acquaintance with the literature, arts, and all intellectual achievements of the two countries.

I would like to speak in particular of the work of Soviet and Polish historians to investigate the so-called "blank spots." Our joint history is the rich and full-blooded history of two neighboring peoples. We have something to be proud of. There is something to open wide and show off. But there are difficulties, too—what are called "blank spots." At times, notions are built up around them that are based more on emotion than on strictly scientific knowledge. There is but one way to the truth on this matter: Study the facts, make a calm comparison of viewpoints, and hold scientific discussions. There is no way of replaying history, but lessons can and must be drawn from it. Had there not, let us say, been the war of 1920—which was emotional for both sides—and had Polish-Soviet relations in the interwar decades not developed as actually happened, then who knows how the destinies of the further development of events in Europe might have worked out? Unfortunately, prejudice, mistrust, and tension were what were largely characteristic then of Soviet-Polish relations.

Incidentally, those who were interested neither in a strong and independent Poland nor in the creation on the European Continent of a system of collective security that would have been an insurmountable obstacle to Hitler played skillfully on this.

You know of the work we are undertaking at the moment to rid our own history of matters that are hushed up and falsified. This is a difficult but necessary process. We condemn the Stalinist repressions. As you know, they affected many Polish Communists, too. In breach of socialist legality, the deportation of Poles took place from the western regions of the USSR. That is part of the tragedy that our country endured. We will continue with this work in order to completely rehabilitate historical justice. Truth and justice may be delayed on the way, but arrive they must.

You know that the 19th CPSU Conference decided to have a monument erected to the victims of the repressions. There is but one true history. It, and it alone, clears the path to the future.

In the four decades and more since the war, Soviet-Polish relations have come a long way and today have the best possible prospects. Of course, much will depend on how active we are in seeking new forms of cooperation that are of benefit to both countries.

In this respect, I would like to mention an idea that has occurred to us: Has not the time come to found a joint public institute for Soviet-Polish research? Organized on the fund model, it would develop various projects for Soviet-Polish cooperation in economics, politics, ideology, science, and culture. It would encourage enthusiasts working in this field and the mutual study of languages by the greatest possible number of people. While having numerically a fairly small organizational nucleus of founders, whose number would evidently willingly be entered by figures of authority from both sides, the institute could draw on the best experts in its development work. On the financial side, I believe it could be supported by the friendship societies, joint enterprises, and public organizations. I am convinced that such a magnet for brains, such a generator and bank of ideas on cooperation, would be of great benefit.

May it please the Sejm, we call our times a watershed. Never before have the conditions of mankind's existence changed so rapidly and dramatically as in the 20th century. Never before has the world faced such dangerous challenges and such responsible decisions. It is extremely important to take this exceptional character of the present epoch into account in politics. The old concepts and prescriptions are no longer of any use to solve its problems. A new political thinking in world affairs has become the order of the day. The issue revolves here around a long-term policy of humanizing international relations comparable, as far as its thoroughgoing importance is concerned, with the revolutionary renewal of socialism.

One can ask: Is the concept of the new political thinking all that new? Have there really been no breakthroughs in the past for common sense in international politics? Of course they have taken place. Thus, the inception of the fifties, sixties and the beginning of the seventies were marked by a kind of short-lived phases of relaxation of international tension which yielded not inconsiderable results. These are the Treaty on Nuclear Nonproliferation, the ABM Treaty, the treaty which the USSR, Poland, and the CSSR concluded with the FRG, the Helsinki Final Act, and a number of other, important agreements. They substantially affected the general situation in the world, demonstrated that it is, in principle, possible to stabilize international relations.

Unfortunately, however, in themselves they failed to guarantee that there would be no going back. It seems the whole point is that the processes of detente were groping their way, without having a strong strategic idea which would illuminate the way.

It was universally recognized that the military might, stockpiled by the great powers, sufficed to annihilate the earth's entire population many times over. However, the sinister meaning of this fact failed to be translated into the language of specific policies. It was obvious that the arms race was threatening man's very existence, but far from all opportunities were exploited, both in the West and in the East, in order to put a brake on and halt this dangerous process.

The concept of the new political thinking has made it possible to see things in their real dimension. The existence of states with various social systems is a reality of the present-day world. But what is dangerous is not these differences in themselves, not the variety, but the antagonisms, the military confrontation, the desire to outstrip each other in strength: That is what is dangerous.

We are striving to convince the political circles and the public throughout the world that thinking along the lines of confrontation and rigidly setting interests off against each other drag us all toward a universal catastrophe. All members of the world community of states, including us, of course, must learn the lofty political art of balancing interests, the art of searching for mutually acceptable solutions, no matter how complex the problems are.

It is very important in these circumstances to clear the ideological struggle of illegal moves. Psychological warfare and whipping up mistrust between peoples are incompatible with the norms of civilized coexistence between states. It is necessary to eliminate the advocacy of militarism, hatred and hostility, so that the differences between countries turn from an obstacle into a stimulus to cooperation.

Peoples need the truth about one another. Western society has a poor knowledge of the realities of the socialist world. The people there have had it drummed into them from the cradle that the Communists are villains, who enslaved their peoples and are sharpening their knives against the free nations of the West.

Our foreign policy ideas and proposals, in particular, the processes of restructuring in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, glasnost, openness, democratization—all these will undoubtedly demolish the primitive myths about socialism. This is extremely important. After all, false stereotypes are a hindrance to doing business realistically.

I should note that we, too, have to rid ourselves of the simplified approaches in portraying the Western reality that have existed. It is necessary to see the whole diversity, complexity, and equivocality, the contradictions of the things taking place in the Western countries, in economic, political, social, and other spheres.

Trust and security are the two sides of the same coin. Over the last 2 years, mutual trust has grown, and a treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles has

been signed as a result. The agreement in principle on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive weapons reached during President Reagan's visit to our country gives grounds for hoping that nuclear disarmament will not be reduced to a one-off action.

The very prospect of eliminating part of the nuclear might of the USSR and the United States is forcing political thinking to seek new approaches to the issue, the solution of which continues to encounter serious obstacles. I am talking about the reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces in Europe. What are the difficulties here? From the viewpoint of the destructive force and the threat to man's existence, in the special conditions of our continent, conventional weapons differ little from nuclear arms.

The Chernobyl tragedy showed the dangers arising from nonobservance of technological and industrial discipline in dealing with nuclear equipment. But if, God forbid, a conventional war breaks out on the continent, who will guarantee that the warring sides will not, deliberately or accidentally, launch a strike against nuclear power stations? And will it take many such strikes to inflict irreparable damage on all the population of Europe, and indeed, other continents? But in the consciousness of the European public, this threat has not been adequately reflected. As for the governments of the NATO countries, they by tradition regard conventional weapons as a legitimate component of the policy of force and uphold the concept of the "nuclear deterrent." Everyone speaks of the need to reduce conventional weapons, but in deeds they continue to build up military resources. This is the aim of the plans for updating weapons which the governments of many Western countries are now making such a fuss of. Too many interests are tied up in the arms business. Stereotypes of the prenuclear age are seated too deeply in the minds of politicians and military men alike and, unfortunately, of the public.

We must somehow shake up the fixed notions of this kind. Let us make it the rule, not only in the case of global strategy but in every specific case, to seek balance through reduction of military confrontation. For example, we would be prepared to withdraw our similar aviation forces from their sites of forward basing in Eastern Europe, if NATO agrees not to deploy in Italy their 72 F-16 fighter-bombers which Spain has rejected. Another proposal of ours is to form a European center to reduce the danger of war, as a place for cooperation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Working on a permanent basis, such a center could become a useful structure which enhances the reliability of European peace.

This idea could be said to be in the air. It is already contained to a large extent in the Jaruzelski plan. Similar thoughts are being expressed by the GDR leadership. Elements of such an approach can be discerned in the Jakes plan. Nor, as we understand it, is this idea alien to NATO countries. The time has come to go also for

deeper reductions of troops and armaments in Europe, and for this: to speed up the agreeing in Vienna of a mandate on the basis of which it would be possible to start talks both on reduction of conventional troops and armaments and on confidence-building measures on an overall European scale.

I have already had occasion to speak of the proposals we should like to introduce into such talks. I want to remind you once again: We are proposing to make cuts in three stages.

At the first stage, to make known and eliminate all imbalances and asymmetries between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, both in relation to the numbers of troops and to basic armaments. It would be possible to apply this approach to the European Continent as a whole and to individual areas, for example, central Europe, southern Europe, and so on. In order to discover the imbalances and asymmetries, to exchange underlying data even before the beginning of the talks, or with the start of the talks, to the amount that will be dictated by the agreed subject of the talks. To provide for a minute verification [proverka] of these data, including on-site inspection, soon after the beginning of the talks, in order to avoid a repetition of the sad experience of the discussions of numbers which at the time drove the Vienna talks on central Europe into a dead end. I will note in passing that if NATO shows readiness, the question of imbalances and asymmetries can be discussed by us even before the beginning of the official talks in connection with an exchange of data on troops and arms.

At the second stage, to cut NATO and Warsaw Pact troops from the level that will exist after the elimination of imbalances and asymmetries by 500,000 on each side, making the cuts by disbanding formations and units with simultaneous elimination of their regular weapons.

At the third stage, to continue cutting in such a way as to finally give the military formations of both military alliances an exclusively defensive nature.

All stages of the cuts would envisage an effective verification system, including on-site inspection. I want to add to this that we are ready not only at the third stage, but from the very beginning of the implementation of the cuts, to seek agreement on the cutting first of all of tactical nuclear arms, tactical strike aircraft and tanks. We support the recent appeal of the joint working group of the SPD and SED to the states participating in the Helsinki process, proposing the creation of a zone of trust and security in central Europe.

All this is not propaganda but serious, considered ideas. We hope that the Western capitals will regard them as such, too.

Let us remember what increased clarity was brought into political thought and public awareness by "Reykjavik," especially in the Soviet-U.S. field. Perhaps, then, it is

worth holding a second Reykjavik, this time an all-European one, a meeting of the leaders of all European countries to discuss one single matter: how to break the present vicious circle and secure a transition from words to deeds in the field of cutting conventional weapons. Lack of prejudice, patience, openness, honesty: This is what international politics needs, we are convinced, at the current historical stage.

Dialogue rather than mutual accusations, and a desire to understand the other side's interests and arguments rather than ascribing to it a malicious intent—that is how we understand civilized relations among states. It is also from this that we have proceeded in proposing for universal discussion the concept of a common European home.

What do we have in mind concerning this concept? Primarily the simple idea that, despite the multiplicity of differences, sometimes fairly deep, all countries of the continent represent a certain commonality. This commonality is not just geographical but also political, economic, and cultural. This statement has nothing to do with Eurocentrism and does not simply register a reality which has been forming for centuries, but it also is an invitation to make use of this reality for the good of all European peoples, in line with their new requirements and opportunities, taking into account the contemporary achievements of science, technology, and culture, and the humanitarian, moral potential accumulated in the postwar period both in the East and in the West of the continent.

In our times, such a factor as a common fate and a common future which depend on averting the nuclear, ecological and other threats is added to the common roots of historical origins. The design of the common European home, to develop this image further, must be the common cause of all European states and of the broadest circle of political tendencies.

But it is clear to all that its basis can consist only of the ideas of equality, neighborliness, and cooperation. Let egotistic, nationalistic, chauvinistic, and revanchist aspirations stay in the old Europe. The Europe of the future must be free of everything that brings suspicion and hostility into relations among peoples.

This, of course, presupposes unconditional respect for the political realities, registered in a system of treaties, which have formed on the continent. And if anyone wants to be inspired by Europe's past, then it is not in its divisions and border disputes, but in its common nature and links that they should look for the model to be imitated. Since ancient times, everywhere on our continent where trade routes have crossed, centers have arisen which in their economic cultural progress have overtaken the surrounding lands. Krakow and Kiev, the Hanseatic cities, and dozens of other European towns have arisen and flourished thanks to the interpenetration of peaceful economic interests.

The development of general European economic cooperation in our time is able to provide the effect of acceleration not just for individual key intersections of trade routes. All Europe gains from it. We see in the future a Europe where West and East no longer bristle with arms aimed against each other, but rather draw unprecedented benefit from exchange of goods and values, skill and knowledge, people and ideas. We see a future where we have learned to see each other with all our differences, not as opponents but as partners.

In proposing to all European peoples and states that we should build such a future together, we by no means separate it from the fates of other continents and the world as a whole. But as internationalists, we cannot be indifferent to the lot of one single country or of one single people.

Indeed, in the modern world, awareness of the interdependence of the fates of the peoples and their membership of the world community must be one of the categorical imperatives of world politics. The dramas which modern mankind is experiencing are born of a mass of different causes. They are the consequences of colonialism and the unequal distribution of productive forces, technology, and knowledge. They are the suppression of the people's will for freedom and the lack of development of economic, social, and political structures, which prevent them from quickly overcoming backwardness.

And one thing is perfectly clear: Not one of those problems facing each people and mankind can all be solved by military means, by weapons, or by force. Here we need goodwill, consideration for each other's interests, and international cooperation. There is no other way.

Esteemed members of the Sejm, the role of the joint, agreed foreign policy of the socialist countries and its importance in the international arena are growing. New possibilities have opened up for the foreign policy activity of each fraternal country. A whole range of initiatives is being proposed by the socialist states to reduce military-political tension in the world. The conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, which is to be held at the end of this week in the capital of Poland, will undoubtedly provide fresh proof of this common will of ours.

The world is changing. And we, citizens of the socialist part of it, have every reason to believe that those great changes that are taking place in all spheres of our life are in accord with the main trends of world development.

We are going through a very difficult phase at the moment. But we are proceeding along it with confident strides, drawing lessons from the past and looking ahead to the future without fear.

In conclusion, allow me from this lofty platform to convey to the Communists and working people of Poland, and to all the fraternal Polish people, very best wishes.

I wish you success, dear friends, in all your deeds and undertakings that are directed at benefiting People's Poland and at the socialist renewal of your homeland.

Jaruzelski's Sejm Speech Cited

LD1107203688 Moscow TASS in English 1954 GMT
11 Jul 88

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Warsaw July 11 TASS—"We welcomed Soviet leaders in Poland on several occasions. Each time, the content and style of statements matched the character of the times.

But their essence has always been unchanged, for our alliance and good-neighbourly friendship are values of paramount importance," Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and chairman of Poland's Council of State, has stated.

The Polish leader was speaking in the country's Sejm (parliament) today.

Greeting the guest of the Sejm, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev, Jaruzelski said that his current visit to Poland was a signal event of historic significance.

"We understand full well: The development and prosperity of the Soviet land, its power and position in the world meet the Polish state interests.

At the same time, a strong, socialist Poland is an indispensable friendly neighbour for the Soviet Union—now and for ever."

Speaking on Polish-Soviet cooperation in various fields, Jaruzelski pointed out that the Soviet Union was not only Poland's biggest economic partner. What was especially important was that the USSR was a stable, conscientious partner safeguarding the firm character of reciprocal ties. Their sphere was broadening, and their prospects were directed into the future.

"At the same time, we realise the existence of many other, untapped chances and possibilities," he added.

"Our peoples are building socialism in different historical conditions," Jaruzelski said. "But never before have we been so close to each other.

Today, we understand each other exceptionally well on fundamental issues that determine the future: perestroika in the Soviet Union and socialist renewal in Poland.

In the assessments and plans of the Soviet Communists, we see the fundamental identity of the directions of our searches in the process of transition from the old to a new model of building socialism. It is easier to march onward together."

Peace and security in Europe were a traditional sphere to which Polish foreign policy attached priority, Jaruzelski said. "This found reflection over the past decades in our numerous proposals and initiatives.

The latest of them is a comprehensive plan to reduce arms and build up confidence in central Europe. It coincides with the course of peace pursued by the USSR and other socialist countries."

Meets With Sejm Leaders

LD1107233088 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 11 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] This afternoon there was a meeting in the PZPR Central Committee.

Greeting Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, noted that is a great honor for the members of the PZPR and the Polish people that Comrade Gorbachev's first visit following the 19th all-union party conference is to the Polish People's Republic. [video shows Gorbachev being applauded by people and being presented with a bunch of flowers; Shevardnadze and Jaruzelski can also been seen; Gorbachev autographs a book; then the group proceeds down a long corridor]

Throughout our history there have never been such close relations between Poland and the Soviet Union. That is a substantial factor for us, Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed. [Video shows Gorbachev and Jaruzelski sitting at the head of a large oval-shaped table with many other people present] Those attending the meeting exchanged information about domestic and international matters. Present at the meeting on the Soviet side were Comrades Shevardnadze, Medvedev, Sokolov, and Brovikov, USSR ambassador to Poland; on the Polish side were members of the Politburo and Secretaries of the PZPR Central Committee.

Then a one-to-one conversation took place between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski. [video shows the two sitting in armchairs facing each other]

Inspects Historical Documents

LD1107230788 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 11 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] After the Sejm session [on 11 July] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the other Soviet leader was welcomed by members of the Council of Elders and leaders of the Sejm's permanent commissions. [video shows Gorbachev and Raisa walking and talking in the middle of a large group of people]

Comrade Gorbachev presented a painting by a Soviet artist to the Sejm deputies.

Comrade Gorbachev inspected historical documents reflecting the Sejm's activities over several centuries. [video shows Gorbachev and Raisa looking at documents inside a glass case]

More on Visit to Sejm

PM1207145988 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 12 July 1988 in its Second Edition carries on pages 2-4 a TASS report, datelined Warsaw 11 July, entitled "Meeting at the Polish Sejm" on Gorbachev's visit to the Polish parliament. After citing the speeches by Gorbachev and Jaruzelski, the report concludes:

"The meeting at the Sejm was over, but the deputies, lined up in two streams in the corridors of the hall of sessions, would not let M.S. Gorbachev go. Just as in the streets in the morning, a familiar situation arose again: This time it was deputies asking the leader to autograph his book, which is now in its third edition here.

"A ceremony awarding the CPSU Central Committee general secretary the Sejm Silver Medal was then held in the Hall of Columns in the presence of the Sejm Council of Elders. He was presented with this award for his outstanding contribution to developing and strengthening international cooperation, friendship, and collaboration between Poland and the USSR.

"After expressing his sincere gratitude for this mark of recognition, M.S. Gorbachev said:

"I am very happy to have the opportunity on the very first day of my visit to speak in the Sejm. It is particularly pleasant that I have done so together with my friend, Wojciech Jaruzelski. Our speeches bear out the fact that we stand firm on our feet, that our aims are clear, and that the route is chosen. And although the route is not easy, we will follow it together, helping each other make progress. I want to thank the Sejm once again for affording me the opportunity to speak to the Polish people about problems which concern both our peoples."

"Mikhail Sergeyevich presented a painting entitled 'We Shall Build Our World, a New World' by Ye.N. Shirokov, people's artist of the USSR, to the Sejm as a gift.

"M.S. Gorbachev: 'I think that everything depicted in the painting is as dear to you and us as the October Revolution. It is an emotionally charged artistic canvas portraying those days which determined the fate of Russia and Poland.'

"The CPSU Central Committee general secretary's visit to Poland continues."

Answers Journalists' Questions

LD1107212088 Moscow TASS in English 2052 GMT
11 Jul 88

["Gorbachev Meets Polish Journalists"—TASS headline]

[Text] Warsaw July 11 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev replied to questions put by Polish television after his meeting with Wojciech Jaruzelski at the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party today. [This and additional amendments are run in a Moscow TASS English version at 2138 GMT on 11 July. The corrected version reads as follows: "Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev spoke in an interview with Polish television after his meeting with Wojciech..."]

Question: What are your impressions of the first meetings with Warsaw residents?

Answer: I've just said to Comrade Jaruzelski and other members of the Polish leadership that we have been accompanied by very warm feelings on the part of the Warsaw residents since the first minutes in Warsaw.

It seems to me that this is more than mere politeness, more than mere hospitality.

We feel that this is a manifestation of more profound processes that occur in Polish and Soviet societies.

The most important thing is that our peoples are moving towards each other. This is what I noticed when looking into the eyes of the Warsaw residents and talking with them. I'm greatly moved.

I look at this as a manifestation of deep feelings that link our peoples. This must be cherished.

Any tree needs watering and care to become stronger. Only then will it have its roots growing deeper. The more so, when this is a tree of friendship. Let us be good gardeners. [The amended TASS version omits the remaining three paragraphs]

This is a wonderful beginning, the meeting of two friends engaged in perestroika, called socialist renewal in your country. It is said already that this visit will raise our relations to a qualitatively new level. This has been predicted. Let us see how the talks will proceed.

Question: What is, in your view, the most important aspect of our relations?

Answer: The most important aspect of our relations is that you complete your socialist renewal and we complete our perestroika. And then we march on together.

Jaruzelski Hosts Dinner

LD1107193888 Moscow TASS in English 1909 GMT
11 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw July 11 TASS—By TASS special correspondents:

Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and chairman of Poland's State Council, and his wife Barbara today hosted an official dinner in honour of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and his wife Raisa.

The Soviet and Polish leaders exchanged speeches.

The dinner, held in a warm and friendly atmosphere, was attended by Soviet officials accompanying Gorbachev on his trip, members of Poland's party and state leadership, and workers of science and culture from the two countries.

Jaruzelski Toast Cited

LD1107213288 Moscow TASS in English 2038 GMT
11 Jul 88

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Warsaw, July 11 TASS—"We are greeting you as an outstanding statesman and head of a fraternal party, but above all, we are greeting you as a friend who brings along a fraternal message from the Leninist party and the great Soviet people," Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski pointed out today at a dinner in honour of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The strategy of Soviet perestroika was having a favourable effect on the state of international relations, ever more clearly influencing the alignment of forces globally, Jaruzelski said.

The Washington treaty and, especially, the Moscow summit meeting had brought invaluable results—a tangible improvement in the international climate and real hope for a future without wars, without the arms race that was humiliating to all of mankind, the Polish leader stated.

"The world is growing to understand that the only alternative to the new thinking is the 'old thinking', its outdated formulas and stereotypes.

The unprecedented tasks facing mankind call for cooperation in all areas. For our small planet turns but in one direction."

"The road towards the sound improvement of the international situation, safeguarding the irreversibility of the processes of disarmament and detente and establishing a comprehensive system of security is still very long.

That is why there is such a need for unabated activity, a principled and at the same time flexible policy securing the level of sufficient defence capability," Jaruzelski went on to say.

"We expect that the results of your visit to Poland—political, economic, social and party-related—will enter the chronicle of Polish-Soviet cooperation and friendship," he concluded.

Gorbachev Gives Dinner Speech
PM1207110988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed report under general heading "In Honor of the Lofty Guest" and the headline "Speech by M.S. Gorbachev"]

[Text] Esteemed Wojciech Jaruzelski,

Esteemed Barbara Jaruzelska,

Dear comrades,

I shall begin with expressing heartfelt gratitude for the cordial welcome. Wherever we went today, we met open-hearted, friendly people.

Everywhere we saw something greater than simply hospitality. Our today's meetings were notable for genuine interest in our country, sympathies, and human warmth. We view the immense interest of the Polish public in the Soviet restructuring process as a factor of great political importance.

I express our common joy in the new meetings and chats with the residents of Warsaw, the capital of people's Poland.

We are profoundly grateful for the warmth of the sentiments of friendship entertained towards us.

We wish all people of Warsaw good accomplishments.

I think that together with Comrade Jaruzelski, we have a right to say that the working part of our visit has begun well, too. A frank and comradely exchange of views has made it possible to reveal considerable progress in the development of Soviet-Polish relations.

We feel legitimate satisfaction with the nature of our relations: equal partner's, and good-neighborly in the full sense of the word.

An unforgettable impression has been produced by our participation in the Sejm session. The meeting with the delegates elected by the Polish people has reaffirmed that the strong Soviet-Polish alliance is a powerful tree with deep roots, a wide crown, and many new strong branches.

It is possible to take different views of each other. It is possible to focus on similarity or difference, identity or difference of interests. Life is so eventful that both the former and the latter will reflect some part of the truth.

But whatever the viewpoint from which we evaluate our relations, it is clear that the strengthening of good-neighborliness, friendship, cooperation, and alliance is, firstly, a real process and, secondly, a kind of call of the times, a historical highroad.

The leadership of the two countries has got will for giving greater scope to cooperation and for raising its efficiency.

The Soviet and Polish public strive for closer contacts. Together with Comrade Jaruzelski, we spoke today of how to turn this mutual gravitation in the best way into real acts, and mapped out a number of concrete directions of joint work for the coming period.

The realization of the accords will help raise, for the benefit of both Poland and the Soviet Union, the efficiency of their ties in the economy, science and culture.

Neither can one fail to say that a favorable political background for the development of Soviet-Polish cooperation is being created by the socialist renewal process which is unfolding in our two countries.

The 'socialist pluralism' notion has entered the political vocabulary in both your country and in the country of ours. What do we put into it?

First of all, the awareness that socialism should not have anything in common with mechanical standardization, uniformity, and making everyone look just like the next man.

The power, and I would add, vocation of socialism is precisely in taking into account the diversity of interests, attitude of mind, and views of people, as well as in creating political, state, and social mechanisms. These

méchanisms would make it possible to join together the aspirations of individual social sections and the interests and will of the whole people.

I think the notion of socialist pluralism is also applicable to relationships between the parties and countries of the socialist world.

A considerate attitude towards the interests, diverse views which at times do not coincide, and towards the experience of one another is not only the basis for mutual understanding, sound and truly friendly relations. This is also an important source of acceleration of our common headway.

We follow with interest the realization of the PZPR's course, which is directed towards reaching national concord and to the implementation of which a constructive contribution is being made by the United Peasants' Party, the Democratic Party, the Society of Secular Catholics, and other public organizations.

As we see it, normal relations are being established between the state and the church.

There are also quite a few instructive things in Poland in the field of legal regulation of social processes and the development of the cooperative movement.

Familiarization with experience in overcoming difficulties and in resolving the arising problems which exist both in your country and in our country is a useful thing.

Today in the Sejm, I already had an occasion to speak of our two countries' cooperation in the international sphere.

We attach much importance to Poland's contribution to the common process of improving the situation in the world, and appreciate her role in the Warsaw Pact Organization, her initiatives directed at making Europe a continent of peace and cooperation, and her contribution to the Helsinki process.

The all-European conference of 1975 was a great achievement. And the process started by it is far from exhausting its resources and, undoubtedly, should be continued.

The course of European politics shows that a number of problems go beyond the framework, outlined some 15 years ago. It is essential to reassess the entire situation in Europe from the positions of the new political thinking.

A breakthrough is essential, first of all, in the field of European security.

It is possible to solve the problem in a big way, and radically, only provided a course towards continuity of the process of disarmament—nuclear, chemical and conventional—is adopted.

Some reassuring signs have appeared of late in this respect. The establishment of contacts was started not only between political figures and the public but also between the military.

People, naturally, can feel more calm when generals meet at the negotiating table, and not sit in shelters.

If we manage to continue making headway towards confidence-building, there will appear an opportunity, as sportsmen put it, to raise the bar of politics in Europe and try to clear by the start of the 21st century the hurdle "elimination of military blocs".

A breakthrough is also essential in the development and deepening of economic cooperation between the two parts of the continent. We have long been calling for that, and we are gratified to note that things got moving in this respect.

We have good reasons to assert that trade, exchanges of ideas in science and technology, and cooperation will benefit both sides.

Of course, obstacles in the path are extremely great. These are profound differences in the economic systems, all kinds of barriers in economic, scientific and technical contacts, and obstructions of prejudices. But we will not be starting from nothing: The traditions of economic cooperation on the continent are centuries-old. And the impelling motives in favor of headway along the road are stronger than any barriers.

A 'common European home,' if we want to build it strong and convenient to everyone, can and must have a common material foundation.

As is known, there exists the 'third basket' within the framework of the Helsinki process. The West has repeatedly used and continues to use it in order to impose its one-sided understanding of cooperation in the humanitarian field. In fact, it comprises, besides human rights, cultural and scientific exchanges, and many other aspects.

By the way, agreement with the one-sided approach is often viewed as a kind of payment on our part for a lower level of military confrontation.

We view such an approach as unfit and prospectless. The experience of the Vienna talks has shown that one can well look for and find mutually acceptable solutions on the basis of dialogue, not ruling out a further possibility to jointly work out a platform of basic human rights within the framework of a 'common European home'.

Neither can one fail to say that the development of European countries' ecological cooperation is still far from corresponding to the rate of advance of the ecological threat upon the continent.

It is essential to resist through joint efforts the impoverishment of man's habitat, epidemics of deadly diseases, terrorism, organized crime, and other such threats. This calls already now for much greater coordination of action.

And I shall repeat once again: We clearly see great difficulties along the road of all-European process. Because every step, even a not so wide one, towards building confidence has hitherto been made by dint of tremendous efforts and required years-long negotiations.

And, of course, it would be unrealistic to expect that one would manage to overcome all difficulties of objective and subjective nature overnight. But it is of importance to see the ultimate goal and persistently, step by step, advance towards it.

One cannot but recall in this connection that the nuclear disarmament program which we put forward in January 1986 was at first viewed by many as a utopian one. Things in this respect have made quite a headway over the two years that have passed since.

At present it would be important to move on from the general idea to the drawing up of what can be called a working drawing and then to begin the construction of the building of a new Europe step by step.

A good impulse to this work could be given by the holding of an 'all-European roundtable' meeting of the best minds of the continent, an overview of a broad spectrum of ideas and views.

Let the pluralism of opinions and approaches manifest itself at such meeting, the pluralism on the basis of which Europe's way into the future will be ultimately charted out.

In conclusion, I want to wish the fraternal Polish people peace, the successful accomplishment of their plans, and succeeded on the road of renewal.

May Soviet-Polish friendship develop and grow stronger!

Health and happiness to our Polish hosts and to all comrades present here!

Leaves Warsaw for Krakow

LD1207092288 Moscow TASS in English 0919 GMT
12 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw July 12 TASS—General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev, now on an official friendly visit to the Polish People's Republic, and his wife, left Warsaw for Krakow by air.

Talking last night with Warsaw people at one of the central streets of the capital, Ujazdowski alleys, upon completion of an official dinner, Mikhail Gorbachev spoke warmly of the forthcoming trip to Poland's old

capital—Krakow. My father participated in battles for the liberation of that city during the war, he said. There he was wounded and underwent a course of treatment in a hospital. You see how often destinies of people and history interlace, the Soviet leader said.

The first day of our negotiations with Wojciech Jaruzelski has been fruitful, said Mikhail Gorbachev. The Soviet people treat the Polish leader with great respect and sympathy.

Arrives In Krakow

LD1207102788 Moscow TASS in English 1024 GMT
12 Jul 88

[Text] Krakow July 12 TASS—The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev has arrived here today.

At Krakow Airport he was welcomed by the first Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee Wojciech Jaruzelski. The Soviet and Polish leaders left for Bialy Dunajec where a Lenin house-museum is located.

Visits Krakow Lenin Museum

LD1207110488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1030 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] According to reports from Krakow, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived there today. He was met at the airport by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The Soviet and Polish leaders went to Bialy Dunajec, where there is a Lenin house-museum. Mikhail Sergeyevich viewed the museum's exhibition, talked to staff, and signed the book for visiting guests of honor. He also visited another commemorative site linked with Vladimir Ilich Lenin's stay in Poland, the town of Porosin, where he laid flowers at the monument to the leader.

Shevardnadze, Poland's Olechowski Discuss Ties

PM1207111188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 July 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under headline "Friendly Talk"]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, met today with Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski.

In the discussion, held in an atmosphere of comradeship and complete mutual understanding, the sides considered principal international problems and issues of Soviet-Polish foreign policy cooperation in the interests of safeguarding security in Europe and the world at large and strengthening confidence and cooperation among nations.

The sides also examined some topical aspects of Soviet-Polish relations.

Shevardnadze stressed the fundamental significance of the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference for the consistent implementation and further development of the Soviet Union's course toward the gradual demilitarization and humanization of international relations and the construction of a nuclear-weapon free and non-violent world.

Olechowski pointed to the immense interest that the CPSU conference evoked in Poland and expressed confidence that its decisions would facilitate the consolidation of the process of detente and peaceful international cooperation and make an outstanding creative contribution to the policy of new thinking, to the further development and deepening of Polish-Soviet friendship and cooperation.

The ministers observed that the positive changes in the world situation that became possible thanks to the concerted persistent efforts by the socialist countries to achieve real results in nuclear disarmament and the entry into force of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles created favorable conditions for advancement in all directions of curtaining the arms race, including the reduction of military confrontation in Europe.

Shevardnadze said that the Soviet side welcomed the Polish Government's statement of June 14, 1988 that developed and specified Wojciech Jaruzelski's plan to reduce arms and build up confidence in central Europe. T. Olechowski expressed thanks for the Soviet Union's active support for Poland's foreign policy initiatives.

The Polish side highly assessed the Soviet Union's policy and its initiatives and proposals directed at eliminating the threat of war, setting regional conflicts by political means, achieving disarmament and strengthening peace and international cooperation in the spirit of the new political thinking.

Full support was expressed for Mikhail Gorbachev's latest proposal concerning the establishment of a war risk reduction center and preventing a sudden attack in Europe.

The ministers stated that the Soviet Union and Poland regarded as an indispensable condition for lasting peace and security, confidence and cooperation in Europe the strict observance by all states of the territorial and political realities that were established as a result of World War II and post-war development.

They emphasized that any attempts to violate the existing borders would be firmly repulsed.

Ryzhkov Interview With RUDE PRAVO Noted
PM1107145588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "RUDE PRAVO Interview"]

[Text] Prague, 9 Jul—N.I. Ryzhkov has replied to questions asked by the newspaper RUDE PRAVO, organ of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Question: How do you appraise the most important results of the Prague session, and what do you see as the main factor for the further deepening of cooperation?

Answer: Perhaps the main result of the 44th meeting of the CEMA session is that the Council's member countries not only reaffirmed their resolve to consistently follow the path of radical renewal of the existing system of mutual cooperation, but also made important decisions expanding the opportunities to utilize new forms and methods of cooperation meeting the demands of the time. The Soviet delegation found this in harmony with the creative atmosphere at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

Question: The voluntary principle is one of CEMA's advantages. Ought it not to be modified in the future so that any decisions made become mandatory, like in the EEC?

Answer: The principles of full equality of the countries and respect for national interests and state sovereignty which provide the basis for CEMA's work reflect a genuinely democratic principle. Each country decides for itself in which of the joint measures agreed within our collective organization it will participate and in which it will not. Nothing is imposed upon anyone; nobody is forced to act against his will.

We believe that the united market within the community will develop on a voluntary basis, as the economic, organizational, political, and ideological conditions and prerequisites mature in each country.

At the same time, this voluntary nature does not mean that CEMA resolutions and accords achieved within its organs are not mandatory. It is incumbent upon the countries adopting them to ensure the fulfillment of joint decisions. It must be said that the fulfillment of these decisions is not always precisely monitored by the Council.

It will probably become necessary in the future to give some thought to more clearly defining obligations in CEMA documents and agreements that are concluded, to improving the Council's monitoring of their implementation. It cannot be ruled out that we might find the EEC's experience suitable; this must be studied.

Now that CEMA has established official relations with the EEC, new opportunities are emerging for exchange of experience between the two organizations.

Question: You obviously discussed with the Czechoslovak partners the initial results from the creation of joint enterprises and development of direct production ties between production organizations. What, in your opinion, must be done to ensure that these new elements in our cooperation outgrow their "kid's short trousers" as soon as possible?

Answer: Indeed, during my meeting with Comrade Strougal, we did discuss the questions of new forms of cooperation between our countries' enterprises and organizations.

We reached the unanimous view that the development of these forms of cooperation provides a reliable path toward broad and comprehensive economic collaboration between our countries, toward growth of reciprocal commodity turnover.

As you know, USSR and CSSR enterprises and organizations are developing direct production, scientific, and technical ties as a new and progressive form of cooperation. The first science and production associations and joint laboratories have been set up. We are also planning to set up the first joint Soviet-Czechoslovak enterprises by the end of this year.

On the basis of what has already been done, it can be said that cooperation within the framework of direct ties could produce great benefits. So far, however, the results achieved in this sphere are less than modest.

Question: CEMA's Prague session was held soon after the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. What was the conference's significance for the party and the whole of Soviet society?

Answer: The revolutionary processes that have taken place in our country over the last few years reaffirm the Marxist view that the time of revolutionary changes swiftly advances the maturity of social awareness and requires very little time to produce that which might have needed years in the past.

The 19th all-union party conference summed up the results of the first stage of radical changes occurring within the framework of restructuring and set a new starting point for our country's further social development.

Strougal, Ryzhkov Speak at 8 Jul Prague Dinner
PM1207093388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report on 8 July Prague dinner given by L. Strougal, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the CSSR Government, for N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers: "In a Warm and Cordial Atmosphere"]

[Text] Prague, 8 Jul—Today L. Strougal, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the CSSR Government, arranged an official dinner in honor of N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Together with N.I. Ryzhkov the dinner was attended by officials accompanying him on the trip. CSSR party and state figures were present on the Czechoslovak side. L. Strougal delivered a speech.

L. Strougal's Speech [subhead]

Esteemed Comrade Chairman of the Council of Ministers! Dear Soviet friends! Comrades!

Your official visit to Prague—the capital of socialist Czechoslovakia—dear Nikolay Ivanovich, comes at a fortunate time. We all still keenly remember the revolutionary and invigorating contribution made to the cause of socialism, to our movement, and to the entire socialist community by the recent 19th All-Union CPSU Conference—an undoubted historic event today for the Soviet Union and its peoples and also for everyone who values the fate of socialism, a system which has for the first time in the history of mankind set itself the goal of ensuring the well-being of the entire people and the cause of progress, democracy, and spiritual rebirth.

Our peoples, who are linked with the peoples of the Soviet Union by the most lasting ties of friendship and fraternity sanctified by the blood jointly shed during the revolutionary battles against capitalism and later in the Patriotic War against fascism, are profoundly stirred by what was said in the Moscow Kremlin. We too are spurred by it to quicken our step and take our part in revolutionary restructuring through the implementation of political and economic reform and make socialism not only an indisputable system but also the most productive system. This is our irreversible choice; we will move together with you in this direction and we want to secure this in a historically short period of time, dear Soviet friends! Czechoslovakia will not stop halfway; it will also follow the path of reform and democratization because we too have no other alternative.

The complex period that we are living through is again verifying the level of our ties of cooperation and acts of mutual friendship, which go back decades. They are manifested in the fraternal relations between our Communist parties, in our governments' practical joint actions, and in the multiplicity of our unequalled cultural exchange. It would be superfluous to enumerate everything that we do together, everything that it has been possible for us to do hitherto, and everything that we will rejoice in tomorrow.

At meetings like this, when we sum up the results of what we have achieved and when we look back, we must at the same time look boldly to the future. Especially during a period of important changes, which are taking place in both fraternal countries and in effect throughout the entire socialist community, which adopted an entire series of resolutions at the 44th sitting of the CEMA

session which has just ended regarding the implementation of truly economic division of labor and the restructuring of the mechanism of integration, through which we will, hopefully, advance more rapidly toward a common market.

In this connection I would like to dwell on certain important elements in our economic cooperation. The latter is indisputably of decisive importance for Czechoslovakia and, moreover, quite indispensable, by no means only for supplies of raw materials but also in the sphere of industrial and scientific and technical cooperation. The considerable volume of our direct production ties, cooperation, and specialization creates a firm and also a promising basis for a change in the quality of economic relations. If we want to dynamically broaden our trade turnover and impart to it contemporary forms in line with the times, we must carry out joint business undertakings, and, moreover, on the broadest possible scale.

We have enough experience for this resolute step. But, despite this, we are as yet only beginning to effect a turnaround toward truly effective cooperation governed by economic laws, due to well-known reasons relating to prices and exchange rates, and also for social and legal reasons. If we have already decided that this is the main avenue for our endeavors and the only possible strategy for our cooperation, we must also act in accordance with this. We must deem this plan to be a mandatory directive and a guide for action. On behalf of the Czechoslovak Government, I want to state that we will require rigorously that words become actions, just as we were instructed by Comrades M. Jakes and M.S. Gorbachev, our parties' general secretaries, at their recent January meeting.

Esteemed Comrade Chairman of the Council of Ministers!

You have come to our country at a time of hope for the world, a time when a new course has begun to be implemented in the world. The course of common sense. This is the sole correct viewpoint when resolving international disputes, and on the basis of this viewpoint, most governments are finally giving preference to talks over confrontation. We are witnesses to the normalization of relations between the USSR and the United States—great powers which bear particular responsibility for the exclusion of global conflict, for the implementation of the new thinking in diplomacy, and for the process of irreversible disarmament, above all in the nuclear arms sphere, a process which has gained so much as a result of the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. We want to believe that this process will soon also be extended to the sphere of strategic arms. For there can be no greater threat to mankind than nuclear war and its consequences.

That is why we welcome every step on the path of renewing trust and the spirit of cooperation and every step on the path of disarmament—albeit partial and limited at present. We thank the Soviet Union and

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, for the change in the quality of the peace efforts and for the turnaround toward disarmament, which he has defended and which Czechoslovakia—as a member of the Warsaw Pact—is endeavoring to promote to the best of its capabilities.

Our people, whom fate has destined to live in the center of Europe and at the present on the border between two political, military, and economic blocs, remembers most European wars, including both world wars. Therefore it resolutely opposes war. But at the same time it supports the philosophy of a common European home, which has recently found reassuring support. That is why we have submitted an initiative on the creation of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations on the borders of the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries. If we are indeed the heart of Europe, then we want this heart to beat only to the rhythm of peace and humanity. We have an equally clear attitude toward the Vienna meeting, for which we want a successful conclusion so that it may give a corresponding mandate for disarmament in the sphere of conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals.

We believe that the time is near when Europe will create a peace zone where there will be no place ever for war, the threat of force, violence, national and religious intolerance and no place for relations unworthy of real humanity.

Dear Nikolay Ivanovich, I am confident that our talks will constitute a contribution to the quest in which our movement and socialism are engaged and in which we and Europe—our old continent which our forefathers settled and mastered—firmly believe. I am confident that everything on which we have reached agreement will affect our relations in the appropriate manner and will imbue them with dynamism and new quality and content.

L. Strougal proposed a toast to friendship between the Czechoslovak and Soviet peoples and to the success of the cause of revolutionary restructuring and the political and economic reforms in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

N.I. Ryzhkov delivered a speech in reply.

N.I. Ryzhkov's Speech [subhead]

Esteemed Comrade Lubomir Strougal!

Esteemed Comrades!

Dear Friends!

It happened that our visit to fraternal Czechoslovakia can be said to have begun the day after the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. In many respects this not only determines the content of our talks and conversations with the leaders of the CPCZ and the CSSR Government, but also imparts a special import and

coloration to all the meetings on your territory. The party forum in Moscow, which met with a most lively and comradely response in Czechoslovak society, has already had and will have, hopefully, a most beneficial effect on Soviet-Czechoslovak relations, on our cooperation and friendship, and on mutual understanding between our fraternal peoples in building a new society.

In your beautiful capital, Prague, we are constantly aware of people's genuine profound interest and affection for the great cause on which our party embarked more than 3 years ago—the cause of the revolutionary restructuring of all aspects of the life of Soviet society. These kind feelings have also been expressed in Comrade Strougal's speech, and we express our most sincere gratitude for this. We see it as a most convincing and clear manifestation of the community of aims and interests uniting our parties and peoples.

The 19th all-union party conference stressed that relations with socialist countries will continue to hold the foreground for us. Together with our friends we have tried in a comradely manner to free the internationalist essence of our relations from the accretions of the past. The personal links between party and state leaders have become enlivened and businesslike and efficient. Coordination is being improved with regard to the socialist community's foreign policy. Socialist countries' emergence in new positions and the uncovering of their potentials nationally and internationally are boosting socialism's prestige and role in world development.

We can see and we are aware that Czechoslovakia has also embarked on a new crucial period of socialist building linked with the restructuring and deepening of socialist democracy. The CPCZ's desire to renew forms of public life and accelerate the solution of the topical problems facing Czechoslovakia is arousing lively interest and respect in our country. We prize the unanimity and profound mutual understanding which have taken shape between the leadership of the CPSU and the CPCZ and the governments of both countries during the restructuring period, when our parties and peoples are resolving large-scale tasks of accelerating socioeconomic development and attaining a qualitatively new state of society.

While speaking about this, I cannot fail to mention the role of the party as the political vanguard of society. This question was at the center of attention at our party conference, which demanded that the CPSU be a Leninist-type party not only in content, but also in terms of the methods of its activity, a party which, while remaining the ruling party, exercises its leading role without taking the place of the soviets as the instrument of the people's power. Under the new conditions, the party's leading role will be determined not by the use of command and edict methods but by real authority, which it will have to prove afresh each time by concrete actions. This

approach makes high demands on party members, because it is through them that the party implements its political course and effects the revolutionary renewal of society.

At the conference, our party elaborated a political program on all radical questions of restructuring. This is indicated by the conference resolutions on the deepening of restructuring, the reform of the political system, the further democratization of the party and society, the struggle against bureaucratism, and glasnost. The CPSU stated its firm intention to ensure the irreversibility of restructuring through democratization, economic reform, and the transformation of the political system facilitating the increasingly vigorous development and introduction into all spheres of life of the principles of socialist democracy and self-management.

Unlike party congresses, foreign guests were not invited to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, since our internal affairs—party and nationwide—were to be examined at the conference. But it would be no exaggeration to say that there has probably been no other such nationwide party forum in our country on which the attention of both our friends and also the broadest world public as a whole has been so riveted. It is understandable that this is owing to the international significance of Soviet restructuring and to the great expectations pinned on it, above all by our comrades in arms—communist and workers parties and other progressive forces—but also by realistic circles holding positions based on a different social choice, different ideological and religious convictions, and a different way of life. For restructuring involves not only democratization, glasnost, and the restoration to socialism of its Leninist humanist face, but also new political thinking, which stems from the impossibility of resolving international contradictions by military means and from the undoubted acknowledgment that the only path toward the security of states and the entire world community is the path of political solutions, the path of disarmament and of building a nuclear-free and nonviolent world. "The core of the new thinking," M.S. Gorbachev pointed out, "is the acknowledgment of the priority of general human values and, to be more precise, of mankind's survival." If we Communists put such stress on general human values, it is because nowadays a universal supreme interest towers over the world in all its magnitude—the interest of preserving the human race and preventing nuclear catastrophe.

The new political thinking has made it possible to effect major positive changes in international relations and organize an intensive negotiating process, which has produced weighty practical results: the conclusion of the treaty on Intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and perceptible progress on an accord on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms.

The recent Moscow meeting between the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and the U.S. President was an important event in international life. The main result

of this was the deepening of USSR-U.S. political dialogue, which now encompasses all key problems of bilateral relations and world politics. This meeting confirmed that, given goodwill and on the basis of a balance of interests, serious disagreements between the powers should not impede the attainment of accords to avert the threat of nuclear war. It facilitated the shaping of a healthier political climate in international relations on the whole.

It has been possible to avert the threat of war with joint efforts from socialist countries and all peace-loving forces. The axis of international life is shifting from confrontation to cooperation and mutual understanding. This is all the result of a turnaround toward increasingly ensuring states' security by political means and of a whole series of major, interlinked, and consistent foreign policy initiatives on the part of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and the other socialist countries, initiatives which have made our coordinated policy not only vigorous and thrusting but also convincingly predictable and have evoked trust in this policy among broad circles of the world public.

The Warsaw Pact states devote particular attention to reducing the level of military confrontation, strengthening security, and developing equal cooperation on the European continent. The proposals that we have put forward on the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe fully accord with these aims. We propose that their implementation begin with the elimination of existing imbalances and asymmetries on the basis of mutual exchanges of data and that the reduction be effected in three stages.

The time has come to channel collective efforts toward erecting a common European home. Every country on the continent can make its own contribution to this cause within the all-European process in the sphere of bilateral and multilateral cooperation. The declaration signed at the end of June on the establishment of CEMA-EEC relations, which has opened up the prospect of cooperation between Europe's two largest economic organizations, is also designed to promote this.

People in our country highly value the CSSR's vigorous foreign policy activity and its efforts to strengthen all-European and universal security. We actively support the "Jakes Plan" on the creation of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between Warsaw Pact and NATO states, a plan which is in the mainstream of proposals from the community's countries aimed at consolidating peace in Europe. We have complete mutual understanding regarding the further expansion of Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation in international affairs.

Our fraternal ties with the CSSR and other countries of the socialist community are based on the durable foundation of socialist internationalism, mutual assistance, mutual benefit, and common responsibility for the fate

of socialism and for enhancing its role in world development. Our common course of renewing all aspects of public life is creating fundamentally new conditions for making effective use of the potential of cooperation in the interests of every country and the community as a whole and for our peoples' spiritual rapprochement.

The scale of the tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 17th CPCZ Congress and the features of the present-day phase in the development of socialism demand of us a lively and creative interpretation of all the experience of cooperation that we have accumulated. This experience is positive on the whole and illustrates that pooling efforts in the economic sphere has not only drawn our peoples closer together and cemented their friendship, but has also helped them resolve difficult problems which have cropped up in the process of socialist building.

That is one side of the coin. The other is that, in analyzing the status of our mutual economic ties today, we cannot fail to see that the intensive rhythm of internal and international life and the constantly increasing complexity of its interconnections constitute the challenge of the day for us and demands a practical and appropriate reaction. In other words, new problems also presuppose new means of solving them.

The central committees of the socialist countries' fraternal parties have recently addressed these questions repeatedly and posed the task of fundamentally renewing the forms and methods of socialist integration, so that the pooling of socialist countries' efforts may produce increasingly weighty results and help accelerate their advance along the path of social and economic progress.

In recent years, vigorous work has been under way in socialist countries in this area on both a bilateral and also a multilateral basis. This is illustrated by the 44th sitting of the CEMA session that has just closed. Concretizing and fulfilling the fundamental directives from their parties' central committees, delegations from 10 socialist countries examined a number of major questions of cooperation which will be of great significance for the broadening and deepening of their economic collaboration during the next 5-year plan. The session's joint elaboration and adoption of a concept for economic and scientific and technical cooperation will serve as the basis for the further extension of the division of labor between CEMA countries. This document's task is to ensure their dynamic cooperation, boost the effectiveness of economic ties, and at the same time boost the effectiveness of each country's national economic complexes individually.

We can also say with satisfaction that the collective concept also completely accords with the efforts in elaborating the problems in cooperation for the future which are being made by the Soviet Union and socialist Czechoslovakia on a bilateral basis. The principles and approaches enshrined in the collective and the bilateral concept of cooperation for the upcoming 15-20 years are

in effect the same. This makes it possible not only to confidently develop our bilateral collaboration, but also to combine it even more effectively with the multilateral work being carried out together with fraternal countries.

We fully realize that the implementation of the tasks and aims formulated in the Soviet-Czechoslovak concept will require vigorous rapid actions from us to improve the economic mechanism for cooperation. Only then will we be able to impart to it the dynamism, flexibility, and qualitatively new level for which we are striving.

Recently a Soviet-Czechoslovak agreement was concluded on the use of national currencies within the framework of direct ties between enterprises, and a procedure agreed for establishing contractual prices for deliveries made on a cooperative basis. In advancing along the path of improving the economic mechanism, we will be able to give our cooperation and the integration ties between our countries a second wind, confidently master new forms of cooperation, and create more and more joint enterprises, science-and-production associations, and creative collectives. Thus we will strengthen and develop our economic ties, which are already impressive in terms of scale today.

We are confident that we will be equal to the tasks set, will respond to the challenge of the time, and will uncover new prospects for Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation. Our talks with Comrade Strougal, premier of the CSSR Government, the important meetings with Comrade Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and my thorough conversation with Comrade Husak confirmed the unity of our views on all these questions.

In conclusion N.I. Ryzhkov wished L. Strougal, all the comrades present at the dinner, and the working people of Czechoslovakia great successes in socialist building and in their crucial work of fulfilling the decisions of the 17th CPCZ Congress.

The dinner took place in a warm and cordial atmosphere.

West Europe

'Terrorist' Attack on Greek Cruise Ship Noted
*LD1207055288 Moscow TASS in English 0549 GMT
12 Jul 88*

[Terrorists Attack Greek Cruise Ship—TASS headline]

[Text] Athens July 12 TASS—Nine people killed and nearly 60 wounded such are the tragic, but by far the final, results of an attack by a group of terrorists on a Greek cruise ship in the Saronic Gulf. A group of gunmen got into the ship, City of Poros, and opened automatic fire on the passengers. In the resulting melee many started to jump overboard and two people were

killed by the screw propellers. A fire started on the vessel. The passengers were later evacuated and those wounded rushed to hospital in Piraeus. The gunmen managed to escape on a speedboat.

According to a government spokesman, Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou will hold today an extraordinary meeting of the cabinet in connection with the tragedy.

Portugal Cancels U.S. Tracking Post Agreement
*LD0707135688 Moscow in Portuguese to Portugal
2000 GMT 6 Jul 88*

["Portuguese Themes" program; Yuriy Konstantinov commentary]

[Text] In Portugal, the Constitutional Tribunal has canceled a treaty signed by the Portuguese Government which provided for the Pentagon's construction of a tracking station in Almodovar, to be included in the Star Wars program. The agreement was deemed invalid because it had not been ratified by the parliament, as required by the constitution. Yuriy Konstantinov comments:

Even before the Social-Democratic government had been sworn in, Lisbon had given Washington its agreement in principle for the construction of the tracking station in Almodovar. The agreement was signed soon thereafter, despite vigorous protests by the left-wing democratic opposition, trade unions, and the public.

The Social Democratic Party leadership alleged that the tracking station served the defense interests of the West, and that by agreeing to its construction Portugal was contributing to the strengthening of NATO. Understandably, they failed to say that the Pentagon's tracking station had nothing to do with Portugal's own security interests, and that it merely bore witness to the increasing foreign military presence on national territory.

For over a year public opinion fought a fierce battle against the construction of this new military target in Alentejo Province. The authorities signed the agreement, but did not risk submitting it for debate in the Assembly of the Republic. But the last word fell to the Constitutional Tribunal, and its decision was welcomed by Portuguese public opinion.

Greeting the tribunal's ruling, Portuguese peace supporters called for the liquidation of all foreign bases and military targets on national territory. It is known that the Pentagon has several military bases in the Azores archipelago. These have often been used as a staging post for Middle East-bound U.S. troops. The United States wants to reequip the bases to adapt them for use by the Rapid Deployment Force and by missile-carrying ships of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet. The Lisbon SEARA NOVA review reported that Washington has Lisbon's agreement to the

construction of a naval base in Porto Santo, in the Madeira archipelago. This base might be used by submarines equipped with nuclear weapons.

The Portuguese Government says that Portugal must play a more dynamic role in NATO. Western observers rightly interpret this as Lisbon's intention to increase its participation in the Atlantic alliance's militaristic activities. It was no coincidence that at the NATO General Headquarters Portugal was recently pointed out as an example to the other NATO partners, who supposedly are not very concerned with strengthening the West's defenses.

The Portuguese antimilitaristic and antinuclear movement is a reply to the government's present course. According to opinion poll figures, the overwhelming majority of Portuguese are in favor of peace and disarmament, and welcomed the Soviet-U.S. summit. The second national meeting of municipalities, held recently in Santarem, came out unanimously in favor of declaring the Iberian peninsula a nonnuclear zone. The decision of the Constitutional Tribunal is in keeping with such aspirations.

Belgian Parliament Debates Cruise Inspections
LD0607222188 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT
6 Jul 88

[Text] Brussels July 6 TASS—Today the Senate Foreign Affairs Commission of the upper chamber of the Belgian Parliament started debating agreements between Belgium and the USA, on the one hand, and Belgium and the Soviet Union, on the other, on holding in Belgium inspections of U.S. cruise units by Soviet inspectors. This procedure is stipulated by the provisions of the Soviet-American Treaty on Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

Earlier, on last June 30, the Chamber of Representatives, the lower chamber of Parliament, virtually unanimously backed these agreements concluded by the Belgian Government last December.

The examination of the agreements at a Senate plenary meeting will be held in two weeks' time.

The official spokesman of the Belgian Foreign Ministry said at a regular press briefing today that, since all political parties represented at the Senate were unanimous in the need for backing these agreements, there would be no problems with their ratification. He said that, despite the incomplete process of ratification, there were no obstacles to the coming of Soviet inspectors to Belgium, since the Belgian Government had already given official obligations to observe the provisions of the INF Treaty.

Soviet inspectors can visit the U.S. missile base in Florennes and the European centre on technical servicing of U.S. cruises in Gosselies (near Charleroi).

Dobrynin, Zagladin Meet Swiss Social Democrats
PM0707114788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Talk at the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and V.V. Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, received a delegation from the Swiss Social Democratic Party [SPS] headed by its chairman, H. Hubacher, 5 July.

During the talk, which was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere, the Swiss Social Democrats were briefed on the results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The SPS delegation members said that they had followed the course of the conference with great interest. It confirmed that the restructuring taking place in the Soviet Union is gaining pace and becoming irreversible. This is to the benefit of working people in all countries who are sincerely interested in maintaining peace.

Agreement was reached on the further development of CPSU-SPS contacts.

Khristoradnov Receives French Senators
LD0807134288 Moscow TASS in English 1315 GMT
8 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 8 TASS—The continuation and invigoration of the Soviet-French dialogue will play a positive role in strengthening peace and furthering the traditional friendship between the two nations. This was stressed during today's friendly conversation between the Chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet Yuriy Khristoradnov and a group of French senators.

The attention of the guests was drawn to the possibility of further developing cooperation opened up by the concept of the common European home put forward by the Soviet Union. It was also said that it is both timely and mutually useful to strengthen contacts between members of parliament of the two countries. The sides agreed that these ties should be given a still greater dynamism.

The members of the French delegation were informed about the results of the 19th all-union party conference, the essence of the current restructuring in the USSR and the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet in conditions of glasnost and democratisation. The guests stressed that the changes in the Soviet Union evoke a broad positive response in international affairs and among the French public.

Soviet-French Space Mission Plans Continue
*LD0807114588 Moscow TASS in English 1119 GMT
8 Jul 88*

[Text] Paris July 8 TASS—By TASS correspondent
Lyudmila Aleksandrova:

Preparations for the forthcoming Soviet-French space mission are continuing according to plan, senior French space officials have told a news conference here.

The directors of the National Aerospace Industry Society Aerospatiale and the National Centre for Space Research (CNES) described the participation of French research laboratories in experiments conducted on board the Soviet orbital station Mir (Peace), testing of French equipment to be installed at the station and the preparation of cosmonauts for a space walk.

The second Soviet-French space flight, slated for November 1988, will be longer than the previous mission and will last 30 days.

The flight programme envisages a space walk and numerous scientific experiments. French equipment will be fitted out at the Mir station. The French side will take part in medical and technological experiments. During the planned space walk, the cosmonauts will erect on the outer surface of the station a unique folding aerial, ERA [not further identified], designed at Aerospatiale.

Joel Toulouse, head of the CNES Soviet-French space flight project, told the TASS correspondent that the French side was very pleased with the programme implementation and hoped for a success of all the experiments.

"We appreciate our relations with the Soviet scientists. Our contacts have become practically permanent," she said. "This cooperation facilitates better understanding between our peoples."

Political & Social

Further on Demonstrations, Unrest in Armenia

'Tension' Felt in Yerevan

LD1107160288 Moscow TASS in English 1551 GMT
11 Jul 88

[Text] Yerevan July 11 TASS—Tens of thousands of Yerevan residents filled buses, trolley-buses and underground railway cars as they hurried to work this morning.

The overwhelming majority of industrial enterprises, until recently affected by strikes, resumed work today. Factories with a continuous technological cycle did not halt operation.

The republic's railwaymen are working in a normal rhythm. The time-table of the movement of trains, loading and unloading of economic cargo is being followed.

A large batch of fruits has been sent to Moscow and Leningrad.

Flights from Zvartnots Airport are being carried out strictly according to schedule.

Tension is still felt in the city, however, speakers at a rally held near the repository of ancient manuscripts, Matenadaran, again called for strikes and demanded the resolution of the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Local television and radio transmitted several times a statement by Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia. He called for the stabilisation of the situation in the republic, return to work, resistance to provocations and all possible efforts to restore normal life.

'Majority' Back at Work

PM1207133388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Jul 88 Second Edition p 6

[A. Sarkisyan report under the "Stop Press" rubric: "Yerevan, 11 July"]

[Text] A rally was held at the Matenadaran Ancient Manuscripts Institute Sunday. It was decided not to go to the Razdan Stadium, where space had been allocated for this by the city authorities, because of transport difficulties and its remoteness from the center.

As in the last 6 weeks, the rally was conducted by the same people, who describe themselves as members of the "organizing committee." The main question was whether the strike should be continued. It was again decided that evening not to work.

At the same time representatives of various strata of the population were broadcasting on local television. Not one of them backed the idea of a strike. While agreeing

with the demands for a solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, the speakers urged people to report for work in an organized way. The Saturday television address by S. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, was extensively discussed. He analyzed the situation prevailing in the republic, describing it as very acute and dramatic. He covered a number of questions and observed once again that the question of Nagorno-Karabakh is being comprehensively studied at the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Monday morning was awaited with particular anxiety. Would the working class heed the call to reason, would public transport be running?

By 1100, as reported by the Yerevan party gorkom, 195 out of 231 enterprises were working completely and 31 partially. Five enterprises were idle. Some 170 out of the 1,249 tramcars, trolleybuses, and fixed-route taxis did not operate. Thus, the overwhelming majority of people decided not to continue the strike. What influenced their mood?

"I think that people resumed work after the appeal to the people made by the leaders of the republic, Catholics of All Armenians Vazgen I, and well-known people in the republic," S. Sarkisyan, shop foreman at the "Masis" Footwear Firm, said.

Central Committee Meets 11 Jul

NC1207094488 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian
0530 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] A conference was held at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee yesterday and was attended by ministers, chairmen of state committees, and leading party, soviet, and economic workers. The conference deliberated on issues of normalizing the situation in the republic.

The following reported on the situation prevailing in various spheres of life in the republic: Fadey Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers; Karlen Gambaryan and Murat Muratyan, secretaries of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party; [name indistinct] Arutyunyan, minister of internal affairs of the republic; Mikulayev, senior assistant prosecutor general of the USSR, and others.

The speakers at the conference noted that the situation continues to be tense in the republic. Harsh words were spoken about the fact that, in this extremely complicated situation, many party, soviet, and economic leaders on a republican, city, and rayon scale continued to [word indistinct] and manifest indifference and irresponsibility toward the implementation of the practical measures designed for the normalization of the situation and the securing of the uninterrupted operation of activity in various branches of the national economy.

The conference emphasized the necessity of strengthening organizational and political work in all work collectives and of mobilizing the efforts of the working people for the fulfillment of the socioeconomic and spiritual tasks looming before the republic. The conference heard that recently certain persons have been engaging in inflammatory activities in meetings and public places, driving people to rash acts, and are violating law and order. Attempts are being made to paralyze the activities of establishments and organizations supplying vital provisions, of transport and production collectives. The working people of the republic are condemning such antisocial manifestations and are demanding the appropriate authorities to establish exemplary law and order and to strictly maintain socialist legality.

The conference made a demand on leaders at all levels to take urgent measures to regulate the work of collectives, to make up for lost time, and to ensure the fulfillment of planned targets and supply commitments.

Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, read a report at the conference.

TASS Cites 'Heated Discussion'

LD1207132288 Moscow TASS in English 1301 GMT
12 Jul 88

[Text] Yerevan July 12 TASS—It was hot in the Armenian capital on July 12. But despite the summer humidity, crowds of people are on the streets.

Divided into groups, they have heated discussions of problems relating to Nagorno-Karabakh.

This subject was discussed, specifically, at a rally near the Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, Matenadaran. The demands and calls are the same: to resolve the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh, to continue strikes.

Tensions are running high in Yerevan. People at some enterprises do not work. At others, not all reported to work. Disruptions in the operation of public transport occurred today. Shops, catering and consumer service outlets remain open.

Party and local government organisations are undertaking efforts to normalise the situation in the republic. A meeting at the Central Committee of Armenia's Communist Party demanded that managers at all levels adopt immediate measures to resume work, catch up with the losses and secure that plan and delivery targets are met.

Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the meeting.

Armenian Citizens View Situation

LD1207040088 [Editorial Report] Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian at 1730 GMT on 11 July carries a 20-minute report by an unidentified correspondent on Armenian citizens' reaction to "the statement by Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, on Armenian television" on 9 July.

The correspondent says that there is a wide range of views on the subject of meetings and strikes in the republic in support of the Nagorno-Karabakh issue. Then he adds: "But in all of these there is one thing in common—something that was clearly expressed in the statement by Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, on Armenian television on 9 July. He said: Irresponsibility, whipping up emotions, and illegal actions are not the way to solve the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. In this hour of trial, we appeal to the logic and wisdom of our people; we call for the demonstration of true civic [word indistinct], patriotism, a high level of consciousness, truthfulness, and a profound understanding by each individual of his or her responsibility toward the fate of Armenia. We must do everything to normalize life quickly and bring our republic into the country's (course) of restructuring so as to ensure the future multilateral development of Soviet Armenia."

The radio then broadcasts recorded statements by several members of the teaching staff of the Teaching Methodology Department of Yerevan University. One of the speakers is identified as the director of the educational film and television broadcasts laboratory. He says: "The solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem needs a quick and just solution. Anyone who has been present at our meetings and heavily attended demonstrations and marches has witnessed the Armenian people and not extremists, or nationalists, or people imbued with an outlook of national exclusiveness. Our people are truly poetic in nature and we wage our struggle by poetic methods. No one is denying that there are strikes in progress; there has also been the incident of Zvartnots Airport. But to describe this as an extremist outburst would be wrong, because even in this grave situation the people aim for a just solution and—unfortunately—see no other course open for a solution to the problem. Over and over, we pose to the people of Karabakh this question: are there any other [word indistinct] means of struggle?

A woman speaker, identified as a laboratory director, attacks the award by the USSR Ministry of Education organ NARODNAYA OPRAZHAVANNIYE to the teachers of Sumgait for their work in "political, ideological, and moral educational work" with the youth of the city. She asks whether this is a reward for the murder and rape of Armenians by youths in the same city and whether murder and rape are considered "moral manifestations" worthy of reward.

The correspondent concludes: "Yes, there are many cases and reasons for being upset and offended. The mark of disappointment and disillusionment is on all faces. And could it not be that these are the very forces that put one toward extremists actions? The just demand of the people is so clear and yet the solution is so far into the misty distance. [passage indistinct] But there is also a need for clearheadedness and vigilance. There is the fear of being sidetracked; to not stumble in difficult or fateful moments is heroism and victory. You cannot go far if you are disorganized. (?There are those) who are on the lookout for us to put make a wrong move. We cannot allow ourselves the luxury of making a mistake. We must ask if strikes are the only way to continue the struggle. We are—are we not?—a people who look forward to the future and we need to go to the future healthy and proud."

Nagorno-Karabakh Soviet Meets

AU1207090988 Paris AFP in English 0852 GMT
12 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, July 12 (AFP)—The Soviet (parliament) of Nagorno-Karabakh, the disputed Armenian-majority enclave in the central Asian republic of Azerbaijan, met Tuesday in Stepanakert, the region's capital, local officials said.

The issue of the transfer of Nagorno-Karabakh to the Armenian republic was not on the agenda of the soviet's session, which is officially devoted to the agricultural and food industry, a Stepanakert city official contacted by telephone said.

But members of the banned Karabakh Committee, a group of Armenian nationalists, said at a protest rally in the Armenian capital of Yerevan on Monday that the soviet "may take an important decision" on the issue.

An official in Stepanakert, which has been paralyzed by a general strike since May 23, said also on Monday that a deputy may raise the issue of a greater autonomy for the region.

At a previous meeting on June 21, the Nagorno-Karabakh Soviet had asked the Supreme Soviet, the country's parliament, to temporarily place the region under the direct authority of the central soviet administration.

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev implicitly rejected Armenina demands for the autonomy of Nagorno-Karabakh at a recent Communist Party conference in Moscow.

Armenian nationalists have staged protest rallies for some five months to demand the transfer to Armenia of Nagorno-Karabakh, which has been part of Azerbaijan since 1923.

Soviet Votes for Transfer

AU1207140788 Paris AFP in English 1403 GMT
12 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, July 12 (AFP)—The Soviet, or parliament, of Nagorno-Karabakh voted Tuesday for the disputed region to be transferred from Azerbaijan to Armenia, an official said.

Yalastian Hambarstum, chairman of the "Karabakh Committee of Armenia", told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE by telephone that the 102 deputies voted unanimously in favour of a five-point resolution.

It called for practical steps to be taken to transfer Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan to the neighbouring republic of Armenia. He said the resolution was in line with one adopted by the Supreme Soviet of Armenia on June 15 for the return of Nagorno-Karabakh, which was transferred to Azerbaijan in 1923.

The Azerbaijan parliament voted against the return of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia two days later.

Nagorno-Karabakh Events 'Controlled'

PM1107183188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Report filed in reponse to reader's letter by IZVESTIYA special correspondent A. Kazikhanov: "Assignment to Stepanakert"]

[Text] Stepanakert-Moscow—[reader's letter] Every day the papers publish reports from Stepanakert. It is impossible to understand any of this information. The journalists simply repeat one another. Can't you go there yourself? Or are you afraid they won't let you in? We cannot understand anything. The city is at a standstill, yet party workers are appearing on television, swearing an oath of friendship and promising to get work going.

What should be done, then? You might at least get out of your armchairs, go there, and tell us what is happening. After all, it is a problem of concern to everyone. What you are doing, basically, is keeping us in the dark.

V. Khromov, Odintsovskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast.

Our reader's indignation is perfectly understandable. There have been many letters of this type in the editor's mailbag. Let us say right away that our correspondents regularly go to Stepanakert. But the situation there is so complex and the reaction to every word so acute that writing about these events is very difficult. We publish below the first of two items about recent IZVESTIYA correspondents' assignments to Stepanakert. The second, on a correspondent's conversation with Nagorno-Karabakh CPSU Obkom First Secretary Comrade Kevorkov, will be published in an upcoming issue.

Stepanakert. I did not choose to come here. Nor did I come against my will. I was given an assignment by the editor to come here from another region. And my feelings were similar to those experienced by my many fellow citizens outside the two fraternal republics.

What I thought was: What is at the bottom of the events? A misunderstanding. Major, immense, tragic, and fraught with horrific consequences, but—a misunderstanding. All the time it seemed to me that it could somehow be settled, if there was someone intelligent, sensible, entirely dispassionate, and equally respectful and loving both of Azerbaijanis and of Armenians. And if that person (or group of people) were to eliminate with wisdom and subtlety the grievances and mutual deafness and blindness, everything would fall into place. And Sumgait would be remembered as a terrible lesson to those who because of other preoccupations, albeit serious ones, forget about the need to constantly strengthen the friendship of the peoples.

I have never written before either about Azerbaijan or about Armenia and I have always chosen my friends purely for their human qualities, not for ethnic reasons. And suddenly I was the focus of indignation, people starting to mutter as soon as my name was mentioned. Fortunately, members of the Krunk, people who command respect here—always came to my rescue. They would say: "Leave him. Kazakhanov is not from Baku, he is from IZVESTIYA."

I frankly admit that the support did not please me, because it invariably suggested to me that everything that was happening was controlled, and controlled in a subtle and expert way.

Here is an observation... I decided to attend one of the many meetings currently taking place at enterprises and in institutions in the city—a silk factory. There was no public transport and no one to ask for a lift. So I was a little late. I entered the club premises and stood to one side. Factory director R. Atayan was speaking. He was speaking in Armenian, naturally. I asked some young people to translate the director's speech, but I was turned down flat. Then I asked a middle-aged man standing next to me, apparently a factory worker, to give me at least a brief translation of what the director was saying.

"He is talking about our history," the worker said obligingly. "He says that..."

I did not hear the rest. My affable translator was immediately called to one side. Several unshaven youths spoke to him angrily. The worker made embarrassed excuses.

This did not escape the director's notice. R. Atayan came to a halt in mid-word. It was all the stranger, since he was trying to persuade the collective to go to work. Or he

should have been—as had been decided at a city party-economic aktiv; he was obliged to try to persuade them. Executive personnel at the party obkom had been assured that that was why the director was calling the meeting.

But are the obkom personnel in control of the situation? Or, to put it simply, do they know what is happening?

All I knew about the Krunk committee was that it had disbanded. That is what the papers said. In my view, the information is incorrect. In many places I actually saw unofficial leaders directing various aspects of life in the autonomous oblast.

Who are they? I do not know. It would be difficult to actually supply names. Those unshaven youths that no public function can do without were always putting in an appearance.

On the first morning I not only observed, but also talked with the participants in a mass rally. Young, unshaven youths were forcing their way through the vast crowd of excited people toward your correspondent, literally hollering: "We are doomed to die; if we are not permitted to secede, we are capable of anything!"

Incidentally, there were not many of them, around 100. They were all young guys. All unshaven. Practically all of them I saw were close by the city's party and soviet leaders speaking at the rally (I had the impression they were a sort of guard), or in one of the headquarters of the allegedly disbanded Krunk organization. They were the people in the crowd who did the shouting. They were the ones who influenced the populace, deciding (by threatening "excommunication from the people" and even violence, I was told) whether people went to work or not. Many (not just the old and sick) people in Stepanakert admitted to me that they were sick (or couldn't bear it any longer) of the daily 6 km march—the procession through the city streets before the rally. But they could not refuse. On Saturday 25 June it was decided, at a rally, to go to work. Industrial enterprise workers meeting at their plants and factories made, as was stated, an equally unanimous decision. It was a firm decision. But they did not go to work. Who stopped them?

Perhaps today, some months after the start of the critical phase of the events, the trouble is self-perpetuating. It has reached a peak of intensity. The most terrible and dangerous thing is that people are getting worked up, as if deliberately getting hysterical: Either, or, either we secede, or anything can happen.

As is known, the city has not been working for several months now. The machine tools are standing idle and the enterprise safes are also shut. But people are living, consuming, buying. What are they consuming? Most important, what are they buying it with?

There is strong support coming from Armenia. Hundreds of people leave for Yerevan or return to Stepanakert every day (an air bridge has been organized between the two cities for this purpose, with 4-8 flights a day at times). And the majority of these passengers are always the same people.

Events and phenomena of which it is difficult to accuse anyone in particular are occurring in this complex situation, which is simply without precedent as far as we know. And yet, a significant proportion of the blame lies with the mass media. All news reports and all analyses are built on the principle of proportionality, so to speak. If a critical opinion is passed about Armenian claims, the very next paragraph must contain a report about Azerbaijani claims. Compliments are also rigorously measured out.

This prescription which, in my view, is based on a false perception of objectiveness and impartiality, makes it very difficult to report the real truth. But this coverage of events has become the only acceptable and tolerable form for many of Stepanakert's residents. They are firmly convinced: Either write good things about us, or don't write anything at all. And how are bad things to be reported? Bad things, the answer runs, should be written only about the Azerbaijanis.

Rumors are yet another consequence of this harmful inertia.

The city is awash with rumors about killings and beatings of Armenians and other intrigues to which they have fallen victim. In the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKA-O] MVD Headquarters and Prosecutor's Office I rechecked all the facts that were recounted to me by people from Stepanakert: Many were not confirmed, while the rumors about killings were nothing but nonsense. But the press organs and the obkom and gorkom are keeping silent, making no attempt to explain to people what is truth and what is fabrication.

While in the MVD Headquarters in Stepanakert, I was shown the "Incident Log" in which information on incidents is recorded daily. The facts are simply amazing. If we are to believe the log (and the words of MVD spokesmen), we are constantly faced with the threat of the population being provoked, of a major clash for the purpose of exacerbating the situation further still.

In conversations with workers (let me emphasize, workers) I very often heard it said: If it comes to clashes, our "fat cats"—those who have lived well and made enough money here—will simply drop us, and we ordinary people will left to pick up the pieces.... I believe that this idea is justified.

On Saturday 25 June I heard party and soviet officials throwing this challenge: "We will go all the way in pursuit of our demands, we will strike come what may!"

On Sunday 26 June, I was amazed by the change of mood: "We don't know what to do, those.... don't want to go back to work. Someone is obstructing us."

A real panic reigned in the obkom and gorkom offices on Monday: "What are we to do? We are powerless...."

Meanwhile, "Krunks" members had assembled in the deserted central square, surrounded by troops, and calmly chatted among themselves. They were chatting even though thousands of people were marching nearby. As if to show to everyone: Look, this is nothing to do with us, there's no point in trying to blame us for your own "shortcomings."

I might be mistaken, but I got the impression that there is a ferment going on at the movement's "summit." Are some people there getting ready to abandon ship? This is dangerous. Not only because the mass of people, stirred up by rallies and demonstrations, cannot be halted just like that, right away—people will feel that by halting they are betraying "their own people." There is something more dangerous: Before making their escape, the "leaders" might try to slam the door shut by provoking a conflict between Armenians and Azerbaijanis or even, at worst, between the military and the NKA-O Armenians.

Let me repeat, I cannot claim that my observations provide a complete analysis of what is happening in the NKA-O. I departed from Stepanakert with the same feeling of profound sympathy for the two remarkable and ancient neighboring peoples that I had when I first arrived in the city. If to this is added a sense of great alarm over the course of events and the knowledge that this is not a misunderstanding which can be worked out by one or two heart-to-heart conversations, yet my feelings and observations are based on that same love and respect which neither I nor, I am sure, anyone among us, tries to apportion between Armenians and Azerbaijanis, but gives totally and entirely to each one of these peoples.

Nagorno-Karabakh To Receive Armenian Television
LD1207045188 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 11 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; S. Polzikov video report from Shusha—recorded]

[Text][Polzikov:] Here, at a height over 1,500 meters, in the town of Shusha, is situated a television relay station. I have in my hands the newspaper SOVETSKIY KARABAKH, which published the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers of 24 March of this year on measures to accelerate the socioeconomic development of the region. It includes a section that concerns television. What can the inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh expect following the assembly of the new technological equipment?

[Unidentified man] Less than a month after the decision we carried out the reconstruction of a radio-relay line and some transmitting equipment was set up at Shusha, as a result of which it was possible to provide Stepanakert, the rayon center of Karabakh, with Armenian television programming. In addition, by that time, the possibility was ensured of presenting Stepanakert Oblast television programming, which currently goes out three times a week. Work is being carried out here that will ensure that in the future—once this work is completed and once the necessary technological equipment is installed—[words indistinct] and a number of other measures to considerably increase the television broadcasting reception zone from this station. And this means that Nagorno-Karabakh, the adjoining regions, and other regions in the republic will be able to have quality viewing of three programs, including two Central Television programs and one republican television program, and also the Armenian television program, with a high-quality picture. [video shows station site, interview, and interior of station]

Ligachev Visits Moscow Art Exhibition
LD1207085588 Moscow TASS in English 1725 GMT
11 Jul 88

[Excerpt] Moscow July 11 TASS—Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today visited an exhibition of latest works by prominent Soviet artist Ilya Glazunov. [passage omitted]

Shcherbitskiy Attends Scientific Conference
LD0807145888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1300 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] The foundation of the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks of the Ukraine was announced 70 years ago on 8 July, 1918, at its first congress, which was held in Moscow. A scientific conference dedicated to this important date is being held in Kiev. It was opened by Comrade Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine.

Dobrynin Addresses Students on Party Conference
LD0907135688 Moscow TASS in English 1924 GMT
8 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 8 TASS—"The 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU, that ended a week ago, is a truly watershed event that exceeds in its historic significance even many congresses of our party", said Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He addressed today a meeting at the Institute of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee devoted to the regular turn out of students-activists of communist, workers' and revolutionary-democratic parties and liberation movements.

"The main result of the conference is in working out a programme political position on all vital problems of our further advancement". Dobrynin said that a plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee would be held late in July to discuss the implementation of the measures outlined in the documents of the conference, the proposals and remarks by its delegates.

"The relationship between socialism and democracy is without exaggeration a fundamental question of modern world development, of the entire international revolutionary movement. The democratic restructuring of our political system proceeds far from the criteria of the so-called Western democracy. We will not depart an inch from socialism, its mainstays", Dobrynin said. "But at the same time, we decisively shed the dogmatic, bureaucratic and voluntarist heritage, since it has nothing in common with either Marxism-Leninism or genuine socialism".

Speaking about the consideration of the international situation at the party conference, Dobrynin stressed that the results of the three years of perestroika make it possible to contend that the efforts to push away the threat of war between the nuclear powers have succeeded. The axis of international affairs began shifting from confrontation to cooperation and mutual understanding.

"Certainly, we do not forget about the threat to peace on the part of imperialist militarism. Our actions in this field are aimed at the policy from the position of strength to be deposited in the archive. It should give place to civilized principles of international relations - dialogue, talks, the quest for mutually acceptable political solutions".

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee congratulated the students upon the finishing of studies and read out the text of the message of greetings by the CPSU Central Committee addressed to them.

Zaykov Speaks at Moscow Gorkom Meeting
LD1207051488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1930 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] The urgent directions of practical work for the implementation of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference were discussed at a conference of the Moscow Gorkom today, attended by the raykom first secretaries, heads of soviet, trade union, and komsomol organizations of the city. Comrade Zaykov spoke at the conference.

Solovyev Addresses Leningrad Meeting 5 Jul
PM0607150188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Meeting at Smolnyy Institute"]

[Text] Leningrad, 5 Jul—At a meeting held at the Smolnyy Institute today between the Leningrad delegates to the forum of Soviet Communists and representatives of the mass media, V. Smirnov, a radio apparatus

controller at the V.I. Lenin optical instrument association, called the 19th all-union party conference the people's awakened thinking.

The time has come for the analysis and creative consideration of the conference decisions, the meeting's participants said. There was talk of how the Leningraders will implement the forum's ideas. There was a frank and thorough talk on party members' personal responsibility for the success of restructuring and on the need to expand democracy and glasnost and improve the party committees' organizational work.

The meeting at the Smolnyy touched on a wide range of problems of the economic, social, and cultural life of the city and oblast.

Those assembled were addressed by Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad party obkom.

Slyunkov on Vyalyas as New Estonian Secretary
PM0107092188 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 17 Jun 88 p 1

["Information Report on the 10th Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The 10th Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee was held in Tallinn on 16 June. An organizational question was examined. The plenum relieved Comrade K.G. Vayno of the duties of first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee in connection with his recall to work under CPSU Central Committee instructions.

On behalf of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau Comrade G.V. Aleshin, second secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, thanked Comrade K.G. Vayno for his many years of work in the republic party organization.

Comrade N.N. Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, then spoke.

He announced that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo had recommended Comrade V.I. Vyalyas, USSR Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Nicaragua, as first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. CPSU Central Committee apparatus personnel had visited the Estonian SSR repeatedly, N.N. Slyunkov went on, and had met and talked with many members and candidate members of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, members of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Auditing Commission, secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms, republic-level leaders, representatives of the intelligentsia and the working class, and rural working people about the state of affairs in the

republic. Many of them had suggested electing Comrade V.I. Vyalyas as first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and given high appraisals of his professional and personal qualities. All this went to form the basis of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo decision to recommend Comrade V.I. Vyalyas for this post. At today's session of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, and also at a conference with party gorkom and raykom first secretaries at which 21 people spoke, everyone had spoken in favor of Comrade V.I. Vyalyas' candidacy for election as first secretary.

Comrade N.N. Slyunkov proposed that Comrade V.I. Vyalyas be made a member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and elected first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and member of the Central Committee Bureau.

The following spoke at the plenum: V.G. Mynzu, plasterers' team leader from the "Tallinstroy" Trust; P.P. Gorynuov, automatic lathe operator from the Tartu instrument-making plant; A.K. Meri, chairman of the Estonian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries; V.YA. Udam, first secretary of Pyarnuskiy Estonian Communist Party Raykom; A.K. Gren, Estonian SSR foreign minister; B.E. Beekman, chairman of the Estonian SSR Writers Union Board; R.A. Akhman, first secretary of Pylvaskiy Estonian Communist Party Raykom; and V.R. Liyv, lathe operators' team leader from the "Talleks" Production Association.

While Comrade V.I. Vyalyas' great experience and merits were noted, proposals were submitted at the same time to include the candidacies of the following Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau members on the secret ballot papers: I.Kh. Toome, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; and E.-A.A. Sillari, first secretary of Tallinn party gorkom.

Comrades E.-A.A. Sillari and I.Kh. Toome declined to accept nomination. The plenum met their requests.

Comrade V.I. Vyalyas was unanimously elected first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and member of the Central Committee Bureau.

Comrade K.G. Vayno thanked the republic's Communists for the long years of joint work and emphasized that he had always valued greatly the help and support given him.

Comrade N.N. Slyunkov delivered a speech at the plenum.

In conclusion V.I. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, thanked the plenum participants for their confidence and promised to devote all his efforts to ensuring that the republic party organization copes honorably with the tasks placed upon it.

Slyunkov's Tallinn Arrival, Departure Reported
PM0107095188 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 17 Jun 88 p 1

[ETA report: "N. Slyunkov Visit to Estonian SSR"]

[Text] N. Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, arrived in our republic 15 June. He was met at Tallinn airport by Comrades K. Vayno, G. Aleshin, B. Saul, E.-A. Sillari, and I. Toome.

On 16 June N. Slyunkov took part in the work of the 10th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum. N. Slyunkov left our republic the same day. He was seen off at the airport by Comrades V. Vyalyas, K. Kortelainen, and B. Saul.

Leadership Sign Farm Worker's Obituary
PM0407140188 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN
in Russian 3 Jul 88 p 3

[Obituary of Darya Matveyevna Garmash]

[Excerpts] Darya Matveyevna Garmash, member of the Ryazan CPSU Obkom and holder of an individual union pension, died 1 July 1988 after a serious illness.

D.M. Garmash was born 21 December 1919 in Staroye Village, in Kiev Oblast's Irkleyevskiy Rayon, into a peasant family. She had been a member of the CPSU since 1943. [passage omitted]

For 37 years from 1950 D.M. Garmash headed the Rybnovskiy Rayon Machine and Tractor Station, the Repairs and Technical Station, and later the Rayon Repairs and Technical Enterprise. She proved herself a capable production organizer and a skilled leader of the collective. She made a major contribution to the consolidation of the material and technical base of agriculture in the rayon.

D.M. Garmash was elected a delegate to the 19th, 24th, and 25th CPSU Congresses and deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Conventions. [passage omitted]

V.I. Vorotnikov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.P. Nikonov, P.N. Demichev, V.S. Murakhovskiy, I.I. Skiba, A.V. Aleksankin, L.I. Khitrin, A.D. Kiryushkin, V.P. Popov, P.F. Timonin, N.N. Grishina, S.Ya. Polyanskiy, A.V. Gitalov, N.V. Pereverzeva, S.V. Bakulin, I.Ye. Balov, R.N. Sikacheva.

Gromyko, Others Sign Court Official's Obituary

PM0207122588 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 1 July 1988 in its Second Edition carries on page 12 under the headline "From the CPSU Central

Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium" an announcement of the death of A.F. Gorkin, former chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, which reads:

"The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium announce with great sorrow that Aleksandr Fedorovich Gorkin, one of the oldest members of the CPSU and recipient of a personal pension, died 29 June 1988 in his 91st year after a long illness.

"CPSU Central Committee

"USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"

The announcement is followed by an obituary under the headline "Aleksandr Fedorovich Gorkin." The obituary reads in part:

"Aleksandr Fedorovich Gorkin, one of the oldest members of the CPSU and recipient of a personal pension of unionwide status died 29 June 1988 in his 91st year."

Reviewing Gorkin's life, the obituary notes:

"From 1937 A.F. Gorkin worked as secretary of the USSR Tsik [Central Executive Committee], and from 1938 as secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. In 1957 he was elected chairman of the USSR Supreme Court. From 1972 he worked as adviser to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium."

The obituary is signed by the following:

"A.A. Gromyko, Ye.K. Ligachev, P.N. Demichev, G.P. Razumovskiy, A.I. Lukyanov, T.N. Menteshashvili, V.V. Kuznetsov, V.I. Terebilov, A.Ya. Sukharev, A.V. Vlasov, N.F. Rubtsov, V.I. Kolesnikov, D.N. Nikitin, P.I. Sabayev, L.N. Chernikov, R.B. Eldarova, E.L. Kuzmin, M.Ye. Mogilevets, V.V. Vasilev, B.P. Tokmakov, A.A. Petrov, and N.P. Malshakov."

PRAVDA Assesses Reform of Political System
PM1007172188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial under the rubric "All-Union Party Conference Resolutions": "The Democratization Program"]

[Text] Right up to the last minute of the conference problems of the democratization of society and radical reform of the political system were at the focus of the delegates' attention. The need for this reform has been dictated by the more than 3 years of experience of restructuring. Since April 1985 the party has been resolutely struggling for the renewal of sociopolitical structures. This can be felt and seen. However, the processes of democratization—both at the center and at local level—have so far been progressing slowly.

"The task now," the conference resolution "On the Democratization of Soviet Society and the Reform of the Political System" says, "is to ensure that Soviet statehood fully matches that concept and that all affairs in the country are decided by the people and their plenipotentiary representatives and are under the people's full and effective control."

The key concern is to ensure the full power of the soviets. The main principle which is comprehensively set out in the aforementioned resolution could be briefly summed up as follows: Not one question of state, economic, or sociocultural life can be resolved without the soviets. During the formation of ispolkoms and of the lineup of leaders of sections and services, the nomination of several candidates, secret balloting, and election on a competitive basis are henceforth to become the rule. A number of important democratic rules are being introduced, including the limitation of the tenure of elective posts and posts that require confirmation by the soviets to two successive terms. It has been decided to substantially restructure the electoral system.

The conference expressed itself in favor of electing permanent presidiums in local organs of power, with the exception of rural and settlement soviets, and the chairmen of all soviets without exception by secret ballot. The recommendation, as a rule, of first secretaries of party committees to the posts of chairmen of the corresponding soviets would contribute to the enhancement of the role of the representative organs, the resolution notes. This is a question of boosting the authority of the reborn soviets with the authority of the party.

Having generalized the results of the discussion on the CPSU Central Committee Theses and the exchange of views at the conference, the delegates deem it necessary to carry out a reconstruction of the top organs of state power. The supreme organ of state power is to be the annual congress of USSR people's deputies. According to the collectively conceived plan it is to form a numerically relatively small bicameral USSR Supreme Soviet—a permanently functioning legislative, executive, and control organ—and elect the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet by secret ballot. It is necessary to eliminate the loss of functional identity of the chambers and to organize the work of the standing commissions and the deputies along new lines. New approaches are also to be used in the establishment and the organization of the work of soviets at all other levels.

One of the main spheres of the reform of the political system is the decentralization of administration and a reallocation of functions and powers which will ensure maximum initiative and independence at local level. Here care must be taken to avoid a narrow departmental approach and local favoritism and to safeguard the functions of the center. The democratization of society presupposes systematic work to strengthen the structure and improve the methods of the functioning of the entire state apparatus. It is necessary to have an apparatus of a

new type. The conference expressed itself for the accelerated creation of such an apparatus, for ensuring that not a single link of the administrative system remains outside the sphere of restructuring.

The formation of a socialist legal state has been described as a matter of fundamental importance. Highly evaluating the activity of public organizations, the conference expressed itself in favor of the democratization of their life, enhancement of their independence and responsibility, and overcoming of stage-management, formalism, and other shortcomings. A constantly functioning mechanism of free dialogue, criticism and self-criticism, and self-control and self-evaluation is vitally important in the party and society.

The success of the reform of the political system will depend to a decisive degree on the work of the party. All its organizations and all the Communists are called upon to play a most active, creative part in the solution of the new tasks. The CPSU as the initiator and executor of the reform has in practice the mission of the political vanguard of the working class and all the working people. It is important fully to translate into reality the Leninist concept of the leading role of the party. This makes it necessary for party committees to stop doing the work of state and economic organs and to renounce methods of work based on issuing commands and instructions.

In short, without profound democratization of the party's internal life, the CPSU's vanguard role in restructuring is impossible. It is necessary to fully restore the Leninist concept of the principle of democratic centralism which provides for the freedom of debate at the discussion stage and unity of action once decisions have been adopted by the majority. Measures must be elaborated and implemented to deepen internal party democracy with a view to ensuring that all components of the CPSU operate in an atmosphere of party comradeship, openness, criticism and self-criticism, collectivism, and conscious discipline.

The conference attaches great importance to the democratization of the life of primary party organizations and the enhancement of their independence. It is necessary to rid basic components of the CPSU of petty regimentation from above and to strengthen the authority of the elected organs and primary organization secretaries. It will be necessary to overcome the passiveness of a certain section of party members. It was frankly stated from the conference rostrum that the level of involvement of Communists in the work of party committees does not match the requirements of the radical restructuring of party work. The admission of new members into the CPSU also requires democratization.

One of the key avenues of the democratization of the party is the full restoration of the Leninist principle of collective discussion and adoption of decisions. It is impermissible for the party apparatus to supplant elected organs, and for the role of Communists to be

reduced to attending meetings and voting for lists of proposed candidates and finished draft resolutions. It is necessary to change the nature of meetings and plenums and to enhance their effectiveness.

The conference expressed itself for expanding the participation of CPSU Central Committee members in the work of the Central Committee Politburo, for regular Politburo accounts and briefings to be delivered at Central Committee plenums, and for the establishment of commissions dealing with various spheres and consisting of Central Committee members. The democratization of the life of the party demands maximum openness in the work of all its organizations and leading components. Attention is drawn in particular to the need for regular accounts to be delivered by raykom, gorkom, okrug committee, obkom, kraykom, and union republic Communist Party Central Committee bureaus to their committees and by party committees and party bureaus to primary and shop-floor organizations. At the same time Communists have the right to recall from elective organs before their term is up those who fail to cope with their duties or who have compromised themselves.

The conference defined ways for a serious renewal of the party's cadre policy in conditions of democratization. The formal, nomenklatura-based approach to the selection and placement of cadres is on the way out. The organization of training and retraining of people and their education with a view to their possible recommendation to leading posts in accordance with democratic procedures are becoming the main method of the work of party committees in this sphere.

A question of paramount importance is the democratization of the electoral process in the party. The task has been set of ensuring the broad discussion of candidacies, secret balloting, and the possibility of the inclusion on the ballot papers of a greater number of candidates than there are seats in the elections of members and secretaries of all committees up to and including the CPSU Central Committee. When electing delegates to a conference or a congress party organizations are authorized to submit candidacies for the superior organ, with the conference or congress delegates retaining the last word in this matter. The proposal for a uniform term of office—5 years for elected organs from the CPSU Central Committee down to raykoms—has won support. There is no denying that this is quite a long term. Therefore it is proposed to hold party conferences which will be authorized to partially renew the lineup of committees 2-3 years after the elections.

There was a great debate prior to the conference about the tenure of elective posts. After weighing all the "pros" and "cons," the delegates deemed it advisable to introduce the rule under which all party committee bureau members and secretaries, including members of the Politburo and the CPSU Central Committee general

secretary, can be elected to the same post for no more than two consecutive terms. This is a most important safeguard against stagnation in the cadre corps.

It is envisaged to substantially improve control and auditing work in the party. To this end, and also to provide reliable safeguards against subjectivism and arbitrariness and against personal and chance circumstances impinging on party policy, it is proposed to create a unified control organ—the CPSU Central Control and Auditing Commission—and similar bodies at local level, and to dismantle the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee and the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and the corresponding commissions at local level.

The reform of the political system, the conference resolution notes, means a great deal of intensive work. It will necessitate the adoption of responsible party decisions and major legislative acts, including the introduction of substantial amendments to the USSR Constitution and the constitutions of union and autonomous republics and the CPSU Statutes. The reform must be comprehensive and all-embracing. It will have to be implemented in a coordinated fashion, in step with the restructuring of the economy and the whole society. And what is more, implemented without delay and within the shortest possible time.

This year's report and election campaign which is to be carried out in accordance with the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference on the reform of the political system and the democratization of the life of the CPSU will be an exacting test for party committees and all Communists. The reorganization of the party apparatus and the introduction of the necessary changes in its structure taking account of the decisions on the division of functions between the party and the soviets are also to be carried out before the end of the year. These are only the immediate tasks. It is the Communists' duty to do everything to ensure that the outlined measures become reality.

IZVESTIYA Editorial on Party Role in Reform
PM1207090188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
8 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial: "19th Party Conference on Society's Political Vanguard"]

[Text] Restructuring is gaining speed. Society's renewal has become not just the slogan of the day, but a spiritual impulse for millions and millions of people and the essence of their thoughts and actions. Who is heading this popular tide? Who is shouldering the main burden of the historic changes? Again, as at the time of a most crucial choice in the life of the people and the country, one remembers Lenin's phrase: There is such a party!

It is the party of Lenin, the party of Soviet Communists. It is the party that, after an uncompromising analysis of serious mistakes and our great achievements and having assimilated the past and the future, put forward the courageous idea of restructuring. It is the party that has led the people to overcome what was hampering us and dragging us backward, and it is the party that proposed the program of revolutionary changes and the improvement of socialism as Lenin understood it. It is the party that, gearing society to purification and democratization, started first and foremost with itself. And that is why the resources of people's confidence in it are not exhausted.

The question of the party's role as political vanguard was naturally at the center of the 19th party conference's attention. How could it be otherwise? After all, under the new conditions of the life of society and the party it is the party's prestige that will be seriously tested first of all. This prestige has to be proved each time with concrete action and everyday work among the masses, with the masses, and for the masses. The activity of any party organization can only be assessed as a real improvement of matters. And, of course, for every party member passivity in anything is henceforth anathema—the forefront is the only place for Communists.

The conference showed that the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, enriched by the existing experience of restructuring are a clear-cut program for the party's action. The people support restructuring, accept its policy, and will not allow it to be reversed. The decisions before and at the conference and the thought given to the conference documents convince us that Soviet people believe in the party and its collective reason, and see it as their guide along the path of renewal.

At the new stage of socialist society's life the party's leading and organizational role is not only not being weakened, but is being enhanced still further; the fulfillment of this role will henceforth be assessed by new criteria, including self-purification, resolve in restructuring matters, democratization and glasnost in intraparty life, and the degree of contact with the people. The party's place in society and its duty to society are clearly defined in the 19th party conference resolutions adopted after comprehensive and sometimes heated discussion. It was the consideration given to all opinions that made it possible to work out a unified view of the party's tasks today.

The conference stressed the importance of demarcating the functions of party and state organs as a demand of life. The rebirth of the soviets' authority is a key question of the day. But the Leninist concept of the party as society's vanguard is thereby also reborn. The party is responsible for the theoretical elaboration of the most important questions of the country's development. It is responsible for working out the ideology of restructuring, which, through organizational work among the masses, will give a correct socialist thrust to all society's progress.

It is also responsible for cadre policy: the sensible placement of people via the democratic mechanisms of a transformed political system; after all, the CPSU pursues its line via Communists—both leaders and ordinary workers. And the party's unbreakable rule is that it operates within the framework of the Constitution and Soviet laws. Never again will it permit deformations of socialism such as occurred during the personality cult and the period of stagnation.

One of the manifestations of the party's vanguard role in practice has been its initiative to reform our political system. This initiative is based on the desire to prevent state and economic organs being undermined by party committees and to irrevocably abandon authoritarian [komandno-prikaznyy] work methods. Only conviction, inspiration, and example can be the working methods on which the ability and maturity of the party organization and all CPSU members will be judged.

The party is now restoring the Leninist concept of the principle of democratic centralism—freedom of discussion when debating issues and unity of action after majority adoption of decisions. Party comradeship, free discussion of all topical issues of politics and practice, criticism, self-criticism, collectivism, conscientious discipline, and personal responsibility all constitute the atmosphere in which all CPSU components should operate. The democratization of the life of primary party organizations is of great importance. The main thing is to strive to ensure that all party members become fighters for renewal.

How to shape the next generation of party ranks is a special question. The conference condemned the "quota approach" to the process and advocated that political stance, real participation in restructuring, attitude to work, and moral makeup be the main criterion in evaluating the qualities of a candidate member of the party. The party is people, and they must be selfless, ideologically convinced, and honest.

The conference resolutions contain constructive proposals on the nature of party organizations' activity, the utmost openness in their work, the renewal of intraparty relations, and the democratization of elections in the party. The formal nomenklatura-centered approach to cadre policy must be replaced by training and retraining people and educating them taking account of possible recommendations for leading posts in accordance with democratic procedures. The voters will decide whether to elect them or not. As a most important guarantee against stagnation within the party's cadre corps it has been deemed expedient henceforth to nominate Communists, including members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the general secretary of the Central Committee, to a post for no more than two consecutive terms. It is planned to set up a unified organ—the CPSU Central Control and Auditing Commission—to improve

control and auditing work within the party and provide reliable guarantees against subjectivism, arbitrariness, and the influence of personal or incidental circumstances on party policy.

Under the conditions of restructuring and the delineation of the functions of party committees from those of state and economic organs a very great deal depends on the changes in the party apparatus. They must be implemented as quickly as possible by reorganizing the apparatus' structure, cutting it, and strictly subordinating it to elective organs. That is the will of the conference.

The party and every Communist are entrusted with the difficult but honorable duty of utilizing the conditions of restructuring to wage an uncompromising and consistent struggle, as is stated in the special conference resolution, "against the social pollution of bureaucratism." The aim is to ensure high quality in the socialist administrative apparatus. Here too cadre policy will be a great help. The selection and placement of people should be done openly, on a competitive basis. Principledness, comradeliness, and responsibility among those elected and those electing should become the norm. If Communists go stale in responsible posts and yield to formalism, they must be removed and any attempts to allow them to simply change jobs should be stopped. And it is just as necessary to check on how decisions and the party's policy directives are carried out: This is a paramount question in the struggle against bureaucratism.

The party's tasks in ethnic relations are complex but noble. Party organizations and Communists from all ethnic groups are called upon to be the soul of the socialist alliance of the peoples and its cementing force.

The party has put forward the idea of glasnost—it must assert and develop this idea. It must set an example of initiative in disseminating glasnost—that is predetermined by the open nature of its policy. The party is today strengthening its ties with society by means of providing the population with extensive information, holding free discussions of questions of party life and party leadership, and ensuring the openness of party forums and meetings. This process will be deepened still further, and therefore the conference stressed that it is party organizations' duty to foster glasnost and the ability to conduct democratic polemics and comradely discussions.

A single-party system has historically emerged in our country. Life itself and the multifaceted experience of society, the country, and the people have reaffirmed the CPSU's right to be the spiritual mentor of society and the political leader of millions. The 19th all-union party conference has again shown that a Leninist ferment, a Leninist lack of complacency, and a Leninist firmness and resolve are alive and well in the party. The party has everything for success: experience, energy, and powerful levers of contact with the masses, including the mass media. The party has boldly and irrevocably turned toward restructuring and renewal: The overwhelming

majority of Communists have taken to heart the call to build all the party's life in accordance with the conference resolutions without waiting for a congress to include all this in the statutes.

Renewed and purified, the party will lead the people to the ultimate goals of restructuring. There is such a party!

MOSCOW NEWS Scores 'Harmful' Personality Cults
PM1107140688 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS
in English No 27, 3 Jul 88 p 3

[Aleksandr Vasinskiy article: "The 'Risk Factors'"]

[Text] It's strange that our theoreticians and social scientists pay no attention to a serious problem dialectically characteristic of any social formation, socialism included. What I'm talking about here is the study of the dangers existing within the depths of this progressive social system, and borrowing a medical term, we can call it the "risk factors".

More frequently and thoroughly is being written of late about the dangers of bureaucratism and dogmatism. But as for the cult of personality, researchers underestimate it as a serious risk factor for socialism. The cult surrounding leaders really only passed by Lenin, thanks to his personal resistance and to other historical circumstances. But the cult did not escape him after his death. And the first secretaries and general secretaries who followed, all those who held the post for more than three years, did not escape the cult. Under the one-Party system, this danger is very great, unless we can come up with a mechanism of legal and political guarantees against it.

Why did the Khrushchev and Brezhnev cults arise? It seems to me that the mechanism is not a very complicated one. Great changes usually take place during a reshuffling in the upper echelons of power. There was a thaw when Khrushchev took over after Stalin. There was a thaw under Brezhnev. Wasn't this an inspiring start for the epoch which later became known as the stagnation period? The new leader always has a three-five-year reserve in which he can refer back to the insurmountable consequences of the errors committed by his predecessor. But as the years go by, the argument about the past loses its punch, and the leaders in charge must answer for the country's state of affairs; herein the insidious moment lies. In order to make themselves look good, they begin hushing up failures and mistakes, while any achievements are greatly exaggerated (the beauty of the mass media is that they're not just a bunch of free lancers, they must submit to Party discipline). Of course there are always achievements, even in stagnation and precrisis years, and it cannot be otherwise: life goes on, machine tools grind; chimneys smoke, the soil yields harvests, rockets fly around outer space, peace strategists win new victories, and so on.

At first, the cult takes shape imperceptibly and then quietly turns onto the well-trodden path. And nobody is capable of stopping the avalanche of chest thumping. We all remember how before the very eyes of millions of TV viewers, a new Gold Star was pinned on a uniform, overburdened with decorations as it was. Frontline soldiers and veterans watched with shame, but what could they do?

The real misfortune is not that the awards were given undeservedly and that this process went uncontrolled. The whole point is that there shouldn't be a cult even if there are genuine and major achievements and victories, since a cult (not respect, not popularity, but a cult) is harmful, antidemocratic. Even the cult of a great personality is inadmissible.

It seems to me that the leader of a truly democratic state wouldn't want all that "greatness" and wouldn't allow any unrestrained, lauding or myths about his infallibility, and even if he did want it, the democratic institutions and laws themselves wouldn't allow him to have it. In the Theses for the 19th Party Conference, this role of a guarantor is played by the limitation on terms for those holding high offices.

I would call the mechanism of centralization, concentration of power and management another risk factor for socialism. Quite often socialism turns out to be unprotected from its own "centripetal" forces. Thanks to a centralized management, it can display incredible dynamism and effectiveness during wars, natural disasters and under other extreme conditions. It can quickly concentrate its vast resources and manpower (while ignoring the price) for, say, the construction of the Baykal-Amur Railway or the project of diverting the northern rivers. But this plus from concentration and centralization can become a minus, since it doesn't prevent the possibility that the great project, a decision on the construction of which was passed quickly, could turn out to be unnecessary or even disastrously harmful.

Under a one-party system, where economic and other spheres are subordinated to the Party's undivided authority, and where vast power is generally concentrated in the hands of one person and not controlled by anyone at a local level, it could be dangerous if the first post in a region or a Republic becomes occupied by a corrupt individual. In such a case, we must first put out trust in glasnost.

All the above examples are just more arguments in favour of glasnost, in favour of its absolute freedom. Limiting glasnost or, moreover, stopping it altogether must be ranked among the most realistic of all risk factors.

Church Official Cited on Religious Reform Bill
PM0407115088 Paris LE MONDE in French
3-4 Jul 88 p 3

[Sylvie Kauffmann report on interview with Konstantin Kharchev, chairman of the USSR Council for Religious Affairs, on 1 July in Paris]

[Text] The bill to reform religious legislation in the USSR could be submitted to heads of the religious communities before the end of the year, so they can examine it and give their opinions before the document is conveyed to the Supreme Soviet, LE MONDE was told in a conversation on Friday 1 July with Konstantin Kharchev, chairman of the Soviet Government's Council for Religious Affairs.

Kharchev, who holds the rank of minister and was in Paris for a UNESCO symposium on the impact of the establishment of Christianity in Russia, told us in Moscow in February that the political "struggle" surrounding Gorbachev's reform plans had considerably delayed the drafting of the bill on religion. He now seems much more optimistic: "Work is proceeding more quickly now," he said, setting out the main features of the bill: "The recognition of the Church as a legal entity, a formula for religious education that will meet the interests of believers, a simplification of the organization of parishes, and the opening of new churches." Kharchev was no more specific than this, especially on the subject of the catechism, apparently one of the most delicate. "This issue is still the subject of discussions," he said. "It still poses some problems."

Kharchev evidently finds the proceedings of the All-Union CPSU Conference in Moscow heartening, however. "The Stalin syndrome is being eliminated," he said, and believers can only welcome this. Can believers provide strong support for restructuring? "They not only can but must," Kharchev replied. "We are doing our utmost to give them the chance to participate actively in restructuring. You know, you cannot ignore 62 million believers."

Albeit expressed slightly less subtly and more cynically, this is the same message as that issued by Kharchev in a recent talk to the Higher Party School, an account of which appeared in the West. The Soviet official did not deny giving the talk but did deny making certain remarks, which he said were deliberately distorted, "because you are well aware of what can be done with a tape recorder."

Uniate Church's Fate [subhead]

Kharchev also confirmed that one of his aides received a high-level delegation of the Uniate Church on 25 June. The delegation lodged a request for the registration of 15 religious organizations. The Uniate question remains a sensitive one, however, though Kharchev refused to acknowledge it as anything more than "an internal

problem in relations between the Vatican and the Orthodox Church" in which the Soviet state is loath to intervene.... However, the decision to register religious communities is a state matter and this is clearly the sensitive point. "We have to take account of the opinions of the Russian Orthodox Church and of its 30 million believers," Kharchev said, adding that opposition to the Uniate Church's legalization comes from the Moscow patriarchate and not from the government. "We have only one aim at in mind," he continued, "and that is to avert conflicts between the various groups within society. If we see that this or that measure will not entail conflict than we can adopt it. However, just because we are empowered to authorize organizations, we are not going to authorize organizations of drug abusers or prostitutes. First, you must consider and assess the consequences. If there is a danger of conflict between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church, is it essential to take measures that will exacerbate this conflict? Let us wait a while...."

According to Kharchev "the less fuss is made" about this matters—which in any case affects only an "insignificant minority of people—the sooner it will be resolved. This is what we told Cardinal Casaroli and we gained the impression that he understood us." Meanwhile, he gave assurances that Uniate Christians run no risk of persecution by the authorities.

Economic Spies Sentenced for Passing Secrets
LD1007212488 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1920 GMT 8 Jul 88

[From the "View" program presented by (Vladislav Liston) and (Dmitriy Zakharov)]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] Today the final court session will take place, the beginning of which we featured in one of the previous programs. A criminal case has been examined on the passing over to foreign organizations for material reward of officially secret material. The investigation into the case was carried out by the investigation bodies of the USSR KGB. The sellers of secrets are (Kamukhin), an employee of one of the associations of the Ministry of Light Industry and (Yefremov), an employee of the association (Prommashimport) of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Links. [video shows vehicle driving along; shot of Moscow city court building; two men with militia accompanying them get out of vehicle; shots of interior of empty courtroom; court officials enter and judgment is read out by female judge as defendants stand]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified judge] The actions of the accused (Kamukhin) and (Yefremov) are classified by the panel of judges according to Article 76 [word indistinct] part of the first criminal code of the RSFSR since they passed on to a representative of the foreign firm (?Stormuksaisu)—with mercenary motives, acting jointly, and aware of the coordinated nature of their mutually necessary and dependent actions—officially

secret economic data, that became known to them through their joint work. And according to Article 173, part 2 of the RSFSR criminal code, their actions are classified as the receiving of a large bribe on the basis of a preliminary deal with a group of persons.

In setting the punishment for the accused (Kamukhin) and (Yefremov), the panel of judges considers the nature and degree of public anger in the crimes committed by them, the role and degree of participation of each of the accused in what they have done, their character references, and all extenuating and aggravating circumstances. The definitive sentence for (Kamukhin) has been set at deprivation of freedom for a term of 5 years, with the confiscation of property, with the sentence being served in a corrective labor colony with intensified regime. The definitive sentence for (Yefremov) has been set at deprivation of freedom for a term of 7 years with confiscation of property, with the sentence being served at a corrective labor colony with an intensified regime. In the case special rulings have also been submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Economic Links on the reasons and conditions that facilitated the committing of the crime. The court session is declared closed.

[Correspondent, addressing one of defendants] Can you say whether you intend to appeal against the sentence?

[First defendant] I haven't decided yet, but generally I think the sentence is fair.

[Correspondent] And you?

[Second defendant] Definitely, definitely.

[Correspondent] You don't agree with the sentence.

[Second defendant] No, I don't agree.

[Video shows accused interviewed briefly, then they file out of court; video shows correspondent interviewing man]

[Correspondent] Igor Konstantinovich, how often do you have occasion to stand as the prosecutor in such cases?

[I.K. Titov, prosecutor, identified by screen caption] Unfortunately this is not an isolated case. Over the past few years with the participation of our country's KGB some crimes have been exposed and stopped that would have caused damage to our state interests. I would like to draw attention to this in particular, as observed in the sentence that has just been read out by the court, the sentence for (Yefremov) and (Kamukhin), real damage amounting to over about 600,000 foreign currency rubles has been caused.

[Correspondent] Through their work these people were connected with foreign firms and representatives from other countries. Such cases as that of (?Shpunta) and (?Lazutin), (Yefremov) and (Kamukhin), will these cases not entail a tightening up of links with foreigners?

[Titov] I can say that fortunately cases similar to the one examined by the court today are isolated. Therefore there will not be any limitation of course on the part of the Soviet state or tightening up, as you put it, in relations with foreign firms including their representatives in the concluding of contracts, which will continue in the future. But I would like to draw the attention of the managers of ministries, departments, establishments, enterprises, and organizations which will be granted the right to go out into the foreign market on their own, to the need to approach the selection of their staff more carefully and scrupulously, not only as far as their technical level is concerned but also to take more seriously their education from the point of view of the law—those people will be representing our interests, the interests of our country, in foreign trade and foreign economic links. [end recording]

Publication of Novels To Be Expedited

PM2806160188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 6

[V. Malukhin article: "What We Publish and What We Buy" under the rubric "Press Conferences"]

[Text] Which contemporary writer will be a classic in the 21st century? The USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade and the Institute of World Literature named for (Maksim) Gorkiy have no doubts about one name at least: Fedor Abramov. A complete collection of his works is planned for... the 15th 5-Year Plan period. In the nineties, the time will finally come for the "Untimely Thoughts" [Nesvoyevremennyye Mysli] of Gorkiy himself. Collections of works by Akhmatova, Bulgakov, Voloshin, Mandelshtam, Pasternak, Platonov, Tvardovskiy, and Tsvetayeva will be published at the end of the century.... This was announced at an informational meeting between the leadership of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade and journalists.

"You have to live in Russia a long time," a poet wrote in a poem to the memory of A. Bek, who never saw the publication of his novel in his own country. The paradox of the time is such that printing the book has ceased to be a problem for the writer, but buying this book has become a problem for the reader. The USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade is trying to solve the problem with the help of an express publication program to establish the print runs of journal bestsellers [zhurnalnyye bestsellery]. "New Appointment" [Novoye Naznachenie] by Bek is being published by three publishing houses simultaneously this year, Dudintsev is also being published by three publishing houses, Platonov and Vysotskiy by four,

and Bulgakov, Zamyatin, Khodasevich, Bykov, Mozhayev, Rybakov, and Trifonov by two.... All in all, there will be 60 publications of works by authors who "everyone reads." Moreover, the time taken for the publication of books in great demand has been extremely—by our standards, of course—reduced.

An anthology of newspaper and journal writings entitled "If Conscience Plays a Part" [Yesli Po Sovesti] was presented at the meeting in the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade. Endeavoring to beat the beginning of the party conference, the "Artistic Literature" Publishing House broke all records for the sector: The book was sent to the printer's on 10 June and signed to press 5 days later. This means they can excel themselves when they want to.

The 1989 theme plan for ROMAN-GAZETA [novels published in newspaper format twice monthly] has been made public (henceforth both annual and biannual subscriptions will be accepted; there are plans to switch to book format in the early nineties). So, in the first half of the year we will see: "Red Days" [Krasnyye Dni] by A. Znamenskiy, "Back Streets" [Zaulki] by V. Smirnov, "Men and Women" [Muzhiki i Baby] by B. Mozhayev, "Children of the Arbat" [Deti Arbata] by A. Rybakov, "Dmitriy Donskoy" by Yu. Loshchits, "Forbidden Zone" [Zapretnaya Zona] by A. Kalinin, and "Chernobyl" by Yu. Shcherbak. In the second half of the year we will see: "Hard Labor" [Katorga] by V. Pikul, "Vigils" [Kanuny] by V. Belov, "Unwritten Memories" [Nenapisannyye Vospominaniya] by V. Likhonosov, "Our Little Paris" [Nash Malenkiy Parizh] by V. Likhonosov, "Renunciation" [Otrencheniye] by P. Proskurin, "The Bed With the Golden Leg" [Krovat s Zolotoy Nozhkoy] by Z. Skuin, "The Master" [Khozyain] by G. Matevosyan, the anthology "Modern Poetry" [Sovremennaya Poema], and the anthology "Modern Fiction" [Sovremennaya Fantastika].

Some of the above names prompted puzzled questions from journalists. And it is true that there are obvious discrepancies with the names from the "top 60" in the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade express series. However, the publishers coolly countered their questions by saying: "These are exactly the authors the reader wants—we have studied the mail." Alas, one can believe this if one recalls the kind of literature "Novel and Newspaper" has brought its readers up on in previous decades. So do we have a vicious circle of mutually generating supply and demand?

Some publishers see the right to economic independence as providing an opportunity to unrestrainedly raise book prices. Collections of works by V. Vysotskiy by the "Physical Culture and Sport" and "Book" Publishing Houses at R5 each are an example of this. The USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade has promised to combat this practice. What is more, it has spoken out firmly in support of

publications funded by the author and also trial publications, despite the fact that the publishing houses—which make money on print runs—are clearly not overjoyed at this prospect. A less firm answer was given to the question of why, in the year of the 1,000th anniversary of Russia's Christianization, the reader cannot obtain a copy of the Bible, a hagiography, and other sources of information. True, the famous "Ostromir Gospel" has been published—5,000 copies at R200 each for libraries.... The USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade made no comment on the proposal to publish a collection of works by Bulgakov or Mandelstam just once instead of the usual collection of works by some "literary general" or other.

...At the end of the meeting the hosts invited the guests to a book sale. The choice was not very great but excellent nevertheless—books I have never seen in the stores either before or since the restructuring of publishing. We were not offered the usual "Novel and Newspaper" authors.

Official on Arctic Affairs Panel Interviewed
PM2906094588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 June 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Interview with D. Zotov, deputy chairman of the State Commission for Arctic Affairs, by IZVESTIYA correspondent G. Alimov under the rubric "Details for IZVESTIYA": "State Commission for Arctic Affairs"—date, place not given; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] As reported a few days ago, a State Commission for Arctic Affairs has been formed under the USSR Council of Ministers. What brought this about? What are its tasks? An IZVESTIYA correspondent talks with D. Zotov, deputy chairman of this commission.

[Zotov] The commission's activity will be directed at implementing our country's strategic interests in the Arctic region in the scientific and economic spheres. To this end it is proposed, first and foremost, to step up the work of ministries and departments in the Arctic. The aim is to accelerate the development there of scientific and technical potential and the material base.

[Alimov] Do you mean the development of sectors new to the Arctic like, for example, the petroleum and gas extracting industry?

[Zotov] Not only this. This also concerns traditional forms of the northern nationalities' economic activity.

[Alimov] But there are already many organizations which are supposed to deal with these questions. Aren't they coping with the tasks they have been set?

[Zotov] Life has shown that, in dealing with one matter, they have failed to achieve general aims. Our commission has been tasked with coordinating their activity in the Soviet Arctic and implementing systematic monitoring of the fulfillment of state plans and programs... The commission does not intend to supplant the activity of ministries and departments.

[Alimov] Will it be concerned with resolving social and nature conservation questions, which are very acute in the Arctic region?

[Zotov] Indeed, both sets of problems are very important. The former are caused by the fact that Arctic nature, as is well known, is very harsh. People live and work there in extreme conditions, and they deserve to have the organizations responsible show greater concern for their daily life, leisure, and culture. We will be keeping track of this. The development of economic activity may seriously affect the environment, which in the North as a whole and in the Arctic in particular is very vulnerable. Therefore the commission is setting itself the goal of demanding that ministries and departments organize work in the Arctic in such a way and create such conditions as not to harm nature or minimize the harm.

[Alimov] Is it proposed to develop cooperation with other countries in the Arctic region?

[Zotov] Yes. We have been instructed to coordinate work by ministries and departments in setting up and implementing scientific and technical cooperation on Arctic problems with Arctic states. For example, preparations are already under way for holding an international conference on coordinating scientific research. Bilateral scientific ties with these countries will also be stepped up.

[Alimov] Are there similar commissions in other countries?

[Zotov] Yes, in the United States and Norway, for example...

[Alimov] What are the commission's powers?

[Zotov] They are enormous. We have the right to adopt instructions which are binding for ministries and departments.

MOSCOW NEWS Reports Woman's Self-Immolation
PM2306114488 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 24, 12 Jun 88 p 10

[Dmitriy Sidorov report: "Woman Burns Herself Alive Outside Kremlin"]

[Text] Nadezhda Bannaya, 26, poured petrol on herself and set herself on fire a short way from the Kremlin's Spasskaya Tower at noon on June 3. Eighty-five per cent of her body was badly burned. She died in the Sklifovskiy emergency hospital June 6.

Militia officer Oleg Zhmyrya: "I heard a woman's screaming, a terrible scream, and ran in its direction. On the way I was joined by a KGB man. We saw a woman on fire."

The two men threw her on the grass and tried to put out the flames using a jacket and a cap. Minutes after a man on duty in the Kremlin brought a great coat, the flame was put out and the woman was rushed to the hospital.

Militia Major Valentin Kirsanov in charge of maintaining law and order in Red Square says Nadezhda Bannaya was born in the Amur region as a seventh child in her family. He mother died soon after and Nadezhda was raised in an orphanage. She never finished secondary school.

Before 1987 she lived in the Ukraine where she moved from town to town working as a chambermaid and cleaning woman at six different places. She spent two years in a psychiatric clinic in Donetsk. She went back to her brother in the Amur Region in June 1987. According to him, she was a psychiatric patient; she was withdrawn and taciturn. She disappeared on May 23, having taken 500 roubles of his. She arrived in Moscow on May 30 or 31 and stayed with relatives in Lyubertsy.

The militia retrieved a three-litre jug with the remains of the petrol, a handbag containing Bannaya's passport, employment record, a writing pad with prayers and a letter which could not be deciphered.

Her relations can't say why she burnt herself alive.

Briefs

New Newspaper

As of 1 July this year, a new newspaper called ALMATY-KESHI will be published in the capital of the Republic in Kazakhstan. It will also be distributed to other neighboring oblasts such as Alma-Ata, Taldy-Kurgan, Dzhambul, and Chimkent. [Summary] [LD0207032688 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1400 GMT 30 Jun 88]

Workers' Awards

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has conferred orders and medals on a large group of workers from the Lenin metallurgical combine in Kuznetsk for successfully fulfilling production targets and achieving high results during the transfer to financial autonomy. Aleksey Fedorovich Kuznetsov, general director of the combine, and Vitaliy Arsenyevich Sviridov, a steel founder, were awarded titles of Hero of Socialist Labor and given the Order of Lenin and the Gold Medal of the Hammer and Sickle. [Text] [LD3006035388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 29 Jun 88]

Newspaper Titles Changed

The leading political body of Lithuania, which is Buro of the Lithuania Communist Party Central Committee, has approved the proposal to change the titles of four local newspapers. So the Siauliai newspaper RAUDONAJI VELIAVA, RED BANNER, will now have a title SIAULIAI NEWS; a regional paper of the same title will come out as MERKIO KRASTAS, THE LAND OF THE MERKYS RIVER, the paper KOMUNISTINIS DARBAS, THE COMMUNIST LABOR will be entitled PAMARYS, THE SEA COAST; and another one, KOMUNIZMO SVYTURYS, THE BEAKON OF COMMUNISM, will be renamed TELSIU LAIKRASTIS, THE TELSIAS GAZZETTE. In a word the titles created in the years of Stalinism that have become hackneyed are being abolished. [Text] [LD1007035988 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 6 Jul 88]

Donetsk Airport Reconstruction

The fundamental reconstruction of one of the largest airports in the Ukraine, the Donetsk Airport, has begun. The runway will be strengthened, and radio and electronic equipment will be completely renovated. The work will take 3 years to complete. [Text] [OW1207001888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 30 Jun 88]